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Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXI

MARCH, 1926

Number 6

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the coöperation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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Business Correspondence should be addressed as follows:

1. Concerning membership in the Classical Association of the Middle West and South to W. L. CASE, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The territory of the Association includes Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and the province of Ontario, Canada. The membership fee is \$2.00 per year to residents of this territory, with the addition of 25 cents a year for postage for Canadian members.

2. Concerning membership in the Classical Association of New England to MONROE N. WYERSON, Williamstown, Mass. The membership fee is \$2.00 per year to residents of this territory.

3. Concerning membership in the Classical Association of the Pacific States to FRED L. FARLEY, College of the Pacific, Stockton, California. The territory of this Association includes California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Arizona. The membership fee is \$2.00 per year to residents of this territory.

4. Concerning subscriptions (not related to membership) to W. L. CASE, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

5. Concerning advertising to C. H. WELLEN, Business Manager, Iowa City, Iowa.

Communications for the Editors and manuscripts should be sent to ARTHUR T. WALKER, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.; from New England contributors to JOSEPH W. HEWITT, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and from the Pacific States to HERBERT C. NUTTING, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXI

MARCH, 1926

NUMBER 6

Editorial

PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH TO BE HELD AT CHAMPAIGN, ILL., APRIL 1-3

All public meetings will be held in Smith Music Hall.

THURSDAY, 10:00 A.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee

THURSDAY, 2:30 P.M.

Carmina Latina, led by Roy C. Flickinger, University of Iowa.

H. V. CANTER, University of Illinois: "Personal Description in the Biography of the Roman Emperors."

SHIRLEY SMITH, Rockford College: "Around Rome with Juvenal."

CLARA BERDAN, Albert Lea, Minnesota: "The Teacher's Crowning Task."

R. B. STEELE, Vanderbilt University: "Vergil, *Aeneid* II, 567-588, and VI, 512-530.

THURSDAY, 4:30 P.M.

President and Mrs. Kinley will give a reception to members of the Association at the Woman's Building.

THURSDAY, 8:00 P.M.

Address of Welcome to Members of the Association by PRESIDENT DAVID KINLEY, University of Illinois.

Response for the Association, PROFESSOR BENJAMIN L. D'OOGHE, Michigan State Normal School.

S. E. STOUT, University of Indiana: "The Mind of the Scribe."

FRANK J. MILLER, University of Chicago: "Ovid's *Aeneid*, and Vergil's —a Contrast in Motivation." (President's Address.) ..

FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M.

Carmina Latina, led by PROFESSOR FLICKINGER.

DORRANCE S. WHITE, Ann Arbor High School: "Latin as a Social Subject."

M. B. OGLE, Ohio State University: "Some Problems of Literary Relationship."

ELIZABETH M. ROFF, Ashland, Kentucky, High School: "The Value and Conduct of State Classical Associations."

W. A. OLDFATHER, University of Illinois: "Caesar's Grammatical Theories and His Own Practice."

FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M.

R. C. FLICKINGER, University of Iowa: "With the American School in Rome." (Illustrated.)

ROBERTA LAVENDER, Austin, Texas: "How the Classics Have Been Promoted in Texas."

ARTHUR F. BARNARD, University High School, Chicago: "Historical Novels as an Aid to the Study and Teaching of the Classics."

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY, University of Michigan: "Popular Methods of Measuring."

FRIDAY, 6:00 P.M.

The members of the Association will be the guests of the Classics Department of the University of Illinois at dinner in the Ball Room of the Urbana-Lincoln Hotel.

FRIDAY, 8:00 P.M.

CHARLES C. MIEROW, President, Colorado College: "Otto of Freising and the Philosophy of History."

PAUL SHOREY, University of Chicago: "The New Literature and the Old in the Classics."

SATURDAY, 9:00 A.M.

Business Session.

LAMBERT J. CASE, University of Chicago: "Eta Sigma Phi—a Nationalized Undergraduate Classical Club." Discussion by WALDO L. GUNDLACH, Northwestern University.

J. B. GAME, Florida State College for Women: "World Literature and the Department of Classics."

HENRY W. PRESCOTT, University of Chicago: "The Composition of the Sixth *Aeneid*."

LOCAL COMMITTEE

H. J. Barton, <i>Chairman</i>	W. G. Herrick	Helen M. Clark
W. A. Oldfather	W. A. Harbison	Rachel L. Sargent
H. V. Canter	C. G. Brouzas	Velda R. Elder
B. E. Perry	H. C. Montgomery	Ruth E. Wilkin
F. P. Johnson	A. R. Seymour	Amy A. Beach
C. M. Moss		

Important Information: Members are requested to register as soon as possible after arrival, at Smith Music Hall, on Mathews Ave., opposite Nevada St., Urbana. Members of the local committee will be in attendance to receive and direct guests.

The meetings will be held in Smith Music Hall.

Headquarters for the Association will be at the Urbana-Lincoln Hotel, corner of Broadway and Green Sts., Urbana.

The Museum of Classical Art and Archaeology will be open to visitors from 1:00 to 5:30 P.M. on Thursday and Friday, and from 9:30 to 11:30 A.M. and 1:00 to 3:00 P.M. on Saturday. It is located on the fourth floor of Lincoln Hall and may be reached by elevator in the south corridor, first floor.

Members intending to be present at the dinner should notify B. E. Perry, 126 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Illinois, not later than March 25.

Mail may be addressed in care of H. J. Barton, 126 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Illinois.

Hotels: All hotels listed below are conducted on the European plan. Application for reservations should be made directly to the hotels and at an early date. Rates are as follows:

Urbana-Lincoln Hotel. Single room, without bath, \$1.75 and \$2.00; single, with bath, \$2.50, \$3.00 and \$3.50; double, without bath, \$3.00 and \$3.50; double, with bath, \$4.00, \$4.50, \$5.00 and \$6.00.

Hotel Inman, E. University Ave. and Walnut St., Champaign. Single room, without bath, \$1.75 and \$2.00; with bath, \$2.50, \$3.00 and \$3.25; double, without bath, \$3.50; with bath, \$4.50, \$5.50 and \$6.00.

Hotel Beardsley, Neil and Hill Sts., Champaign. Single room, without bath, \$1.25 and \$1.50; with bath, \$2.25 and \$2.50; double, without bath, \$2.50; double, with bath, \$4.50 and \$5.00.

Rooms in private houses may be secured at \$1.00 per day. Address W. C. Herrick 126 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Illinois.

Transportation: Champaign and Urbana are reached by the Illinois Central, the Peoria Division of the Big Four, the Wabash, and the Illinois Traction System.

Illinois Central: Trains arrive at Champaign-Urbana from Chicago at 3:45 A.M., 12:15 P.M., 8:30 P.M., 9:20 P.M., 12:30 A.M.; from the South at 2:50 A.M., 6:15 A.M., 7:45 A.M., 12:55 P.M., 2:35 P.M., 6:20 P.M.; from Havana and Clinton at 11:40 A.M. and 6:00 P.M.; and from Decatur at 11:40 A.M. and 6:15 P.M.

Big Four: Trains arrive at Urbana from Indianapolis and the East at 3:55 A.M., 11:10 A.M., 3:20 P.M., arriving at Champaign about five minutes later; at Champaign from Peoria and the West at 10:08 A.M., 2:35 P.M., 10:41 P.M., arriving at Urbana about ten minutes later.

Wabash: Trains arrive at Urbana from Detroit at 9:00 A.M.; from St. Louis at 1:14 P.M., arriving in Champaign about ten minutes later.

Illinois Traction System: Trains arrive at Champaign from St. Louis at 8:20 A.M., 10:35 A.M., 12:40 P.M., 1:35 P.M., 2:40 P.M., 4:35 P.M., 6:55 P.M., 7:35 P.M., 9:20 P.M., 10:55 P.M. and 12:25 A.M. Trains arrive at Urbana from Danville at 6:35 A.M., 8:28 A.M., 10:15 A.M., 11:28 A.M., 12:15 P.M., 2:15 P.M., 2:28 P.M., 4:35 P.M., 5:28 P.M., 6:25 P.M., 8:35 P.M., 10:35 P.M. and 12:15 A.M.

From Champaign to the University take Oregon or Wright Street cars; from Urbana, the Oregon cars.

Application has been made to the railways for the one and one-half fare rate on the certificate plan. Members and friends should purchase one-way tickets, and at the same time secure from the agent a certificate giving the name place and date of the meeting

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AT THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL AND TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONN., APRIL 9-10, 1926

FRIDAY, 10:00 A. M.

Address of Welcome by Principal CLEMENT C. HYDE, Hartford Public High School. Response by MR. WILLARD REED, President of the Association.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE, Amherst College: "Notes on the Pathetic Fallacy in Latin Poetry."

SAMUEL MORGAN ALVORD, Hartford Public High School: "Classical Gleanings from Early New England Men and Institutions."

EDGAR H. STURTEVANT, Yale University: "Notes on the *Mostellaria* of Plautus."

Reports and business, including the election of officers.

FRIDAY, 2:00 P. M.

MARION L. AYER, Mount Holyoke College: "Where was Ithaca?"

GEORGE L. FOX, The Fox School: "The Direct Method of Teaching Latin and Greek, as Practiced at the Perse School, Cambridge, England."

In Memoriam Professor Albert A. Howard and Professor Mary E. Taylor.

GEORGE E. HOWES, Williams College: "The Beginnings and Development of the Classical Association of New England."

JOHN C. KIRTLAND, Phillips Exeter Academy: "The Proposed Changes in the Latin Requirements."

FRIDAY, 8:00 P. M.

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES, Rosemary Hall: "A Glance at Some Renaissance Latin Literature."

HENRY D. WILD, Williams College: "Romance and Legend in Roman Coins" (Illustrated).

Social Hour and Smoker.

SATURDAY, 9:30 A. M.

REMSSEN B. OGILBY, Trinity College: "*Lingua Latina in Terris Remotis*."

JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT, Wesleyan University: "Homeric Laughter."

WILLIAM T. PECK, Classical High School, Providence: "Greek in Secondary Schools."

THOMAS I. O'MALLEY, Boston College: "The Similes of Homer, of Sophocles, and of Euripides."

NATALIE M. GIFFORD, Smith College: "Athens and an Unfinished Problem" (Illustrated).

SATURDAY, 2:00 P. M.

NELSON G. MCCREA, Columbia University: "Some Aspects of Cicero's Philosophy."

Symposium on the subject of First-Year Latin.

Unfinished business.

PER ARVA VERGILI

By CHARLES W. LEMMI
Goucher College

Delicate visions of Italian fields, shining faintly, half mythical through the dimness of a remote antiquity: these, doubtless, multitudes who, like me, delight in reading the *Georgics*, are daily familiar with. I, instead, behold no visions: I remember. To me the *Georgics* are not ancient literature; they are the record of my boyhood and youth.

The strident roar, the fury of haste of the streets, the hard, gray sky above, make me half doubt my memory. Here, often, I think I dream. So may it appear to others: even to those who, at some former time, went like pilgrims to Italy. Did they not see a fever-haunted waste where Pæstum once bloomed with roses twice a year? They have some cause to doubt. Not where the muddy brook that was Galæsus now creeps amid the rushes to the sea, nor where encircling pools turn blank, dead eyes on Mantua, wrapped in sleep, are the fields dear to Vergil found today. They are in Tuscany, sheltered from the north and from the south, protected from the east and from the west. How strange it is that thousands, every year, wander in Tuscan cities, gaze dumbly at dead relics of the past; then, half-uncomprehending, go their way. Ah how they miss the beautiful long ago still breathing in all the olive trees of our hills!

Like a giant on guard, threatening the stranger who would enter Florence, towers the mass of the Roman Gate; and in the shadow that it casts before it, humbly seeking protection, as it were, stand quaint little jingling coaches, waiting for passengers. I think I hear the friendly, welcoming creak with which one of them greets me. How clearly the peaceful open country appears

before me as I recall the enthroned comfort of a seat outside. For presently the weather-beaten coachman grasps the reins. 'Ti! Gee up!' he cries to his nags; and with a clattering of hoofs, and a jangling of bells, and a twanging blast of the battered brass horn, away we rumble, past the little shops of the suburbs, up the hill and past the convent on the hilltop, and away and away on the broad, white highroad, between silvery olive trees and rich, brown fields.

Silvery brown are the hills ahead, blue the hills beyond, deepest blue the sky above. It is late in March. The air that blows in one's face is fresh and sweet, and all the countryside laughs in the new tender sunshine. See, there, and there, and yonder, a dazzling soft whiteness in the fields: almond trees in bloom. And the birds! Listen! Again and again; ringing, resounding, enthusiastic; a cascade of silvery music: the song of the chaffinches. And when it lulls for a moment, oh what a tender, busy warbling of black-caps, what a bright twittering of tomtits, what a chirping of sparrows! High above, circling, wheeling, darting aside; dainty sickle wings just penciled against the sky — "Videvit!" — the swallows, flashing white and again penciled in outline as they turn. "Videvit!" say the swallows. "Springtime! Videvit!"

A deep, soft bellowing comes from the field hard by. Turn, now, and look. Two huge, snow-white oxen, their spreading horns garlanded with red tassels, are bending to the creaking plough, breathing mightily. Stooping over the plough-handle, a brown-clad figure struggles after, with uneven steps, in the lengthening furrow. Behind him, an old man, white of hair and beard, with sweeping gesture and steady stride, scatters the grain from the basket on his arm. Oh, do you not know, as you look, that you are in Vergil's country? Do you not remember?

"In the birth-tide of spring, when melt from the mountains the
ice and the snow,

And the crumbling clods are breaking down as the west-winds
blow,

Then let the bull begin to groan at the plough deep-thrust
As he strains"

Do you not remember? Come and see; nothing has changed.

The old man smiles gravely as we approach; the young ploughman straightens up, and with a rough grace pulls off his battered hat. Look, it is the same wooden plough as of old; massive, shining white like ivory. See the great plough-stock, half buried in the ground, tapering downward like the skull of a huge stag; and sweeping far forward, and curving sharply backwards, like strange, great antlers, see the pole and the handle. "*Questo è l'aratro*," says the old man, smiling. "*Questo è il timone. Questa la stiva. Quelli? I bovi, sono.*" To be sure. *Hoc est aratrum. Hic est temo. Haec stiva. Illi boves sunt.* We know them all, I warrant you. Plough and pole and handle and oxen; we know them all. When was it — yesterday, that Vergil described them to us?

Ah, when was it that I stood by the great white oxen chatting with the old countryman and his son? Was it not yesterday? I see them so clearly in the tender sunshine. "Will you not go to the house and have a glass of wine?" says the old man courteously. "See, Cesare, over there, will show you the way." Cesare smiles a pleasant greeting as we plod up to him. Bare-foot, clad in a faded shirt and ragged trousers — but what a beautiful big youth! What a beautiful big chest, showing like fine bronze through his open shirt! What boyish contentment in the big brown eyes and on the smiling mouth! "Take you to the house? *Certo!*" he says; and dropping his heavy mattock, he turns to lead us up a grassy path. As he does so, the light glints on the pruning-hook swinging at his belt: a broad, hooked blade with a square hatchet-blade projecting from the back. Do you not recognize it? Yes, of course, the *falx putatoria*. It has merely lost a spike at the end since Vergil's day.

Nestling in the silvery gray of olive trees, the red roof of the house presently appears. Next, the low, weather-beaten, white front comes to view: the dark arches of a porch, a splash of red

geraniums in a window beneath projecting eaves, a ladder leaning against the door of a loft in the wing. Now the broad *aia*, the threshing-yard of beaten earth, opens before us, with flails standing in a corner. But we stop suddenly, as from the shadows of the porch there bounds, white and shaggy, a huge dog, barking hoarsely, leaping against its chain, strangling furiously in its collar. "*Non morde,*" Cesare reassures us. And to the dog: "*Silenzio te! Sta' quieto!*" The shaggy brute trots back, jangling its chain, and as we pass under the porch we hear it lapping noisily — need I tell you at what? At a pan of whey, to be sure! What else?

Dark, narrow stairs, now. Carefully! Now the light: a big, whitewashed kitchen; copperware glinting on the walls; a huge open fireplace under a projecting hood; a rough, deal table, in the middle, with long benches on either side. On the table, plates, glasses, a great black loaf, a flask of oil, a flask of wine: dinner. No knives or forks: pocketknives and fingers do just as well. "*Mamma!*" shouts Cesare. "*Vieni, mamma!*" And the wrinkled matron comes curtsying in, smiling all over her old winter-apple face. "Oh, masters, a fine day to you! Have a glass of wine. We are poor folks; we have nothing better to offer you." "To your health," we answer gravely, as we lift our glasses brimming with red wine. And all the while we are glancing around curiously. A dozen big loaves on a shelf, a large, graceful copper pitcher, like an amphora, standing in the sink. . . . Look! Hanging from the hood of the fireplace by their curved handles! Do you recognize those little boat-shaped lamps with the mesh sticking out at one end? "*Lucerne,*" says the old woman brightly, following our gaze. Yes, we knew it; *lucernae*, with quaint, elongated dogs engraved around their sides. And see, hanging on the wall, there: the iron plate suspended from chains, the graduated steelyard — Roman scales, as you live! "*La stadera,*" smiles the old woman.

"You want to see the spinningwheels? *Certo!*" she answers presently. "This way. Be pleased to enter." Another white-washed room appears before us, and we see the spinningwheels;

also a loom and a large wardrobe. But we scarcely glance at them. Oh what a big, handsome girl! What a wealth of black hair! What a sweet, red mouth! Bother the spinningwheels! What a shy glory in those great brown eyes as she rises and stands there blushing and smiling. *Hercle! Per deos atque homines*, what a girl! But if we do not want her to be sent upon an errand, we had better confine our attention to these *lucerne*. There are several of them here, for Julia and her four sisters — who are in the fields, at present, working with their seven brothers — must keep the family clothed. Often the clear flames of the little oil lamps rise up quietly till late at night, while the wheels purr drowsily.

The girls do not mind, however. They sing softly, or take turns at telling stories. Many an hour did I spend listening to them, when I was a boy; and still, though my hair is turning gray, I seem to hear the voice of one as she says:

"There was once a king and he had a beautiful daughter. She was red as blood and white as snow, and her hair swept the ground; so that all who saw her wanted her. The king had a page, too, and his hair was as blond as gold, and he was beautiful. Look today, look tomorrow, the page became like a flame of fire; for loving the princess he could neither eat nor sleep. And the princess — I'll tell you nothing about her, for you are to guess. But when the king found it out he locked his daughter in a high tower, and he wanted to tear the page's eyes out, he wanted.

But there was a war, and a great battle, and the page saved the king's life.

'Ask for anything you want,' said the king, 'and I will give it to you — provided that it be not my daughter.'

'Provided that it be not my daughter,' the king said; for he was a sly old fox, — bad luck to him!

'I ask to talk to your daughter for an hour,' said the page; for when he thought of her he was hungry and thirsty, as it were; and to see her even for a moment he would have walked on razors.

'Very well,' said the king, 'you shall speak to my daughter for an hour.'

But he was a sly old fox, was the king. He went to his daughter and said to her:

'Whatever the page asks you, you are to answer "no," or I will eat your heart out.'

'My father,' answered his daughter, 'as you command me, so I shall do.'

But that night she cried and cried.

When the page saw her, he could have kissed the ground she stood on, and he said:

'Oh, to see you, even for a moment, I would give the eyes of my head. Have you nothing to say to me? Aren't you glad?'

'No,' said the princess.

'Ah,' cried the page, 'I understand. You would be glad, rather, if I were lying bloody and dead on the field, yonder. Say it! What do I care? Say it! Should you not be glad?'

'No,' said the princess; and when she thought of his being all bloody and dead, she almost began to cry.

'Then you do not hate me! You do not hate me!' cried the page.

'No,' cried back the princess with her soul in her eyes.

The page was no fool. 'Angel of my heart,' he said, 'do you think it good sense for me to stand here instead of sitting beside you?'

'No,' said the princess.

So the page sat down beside her:

'My love, my treasure,' said he, 'is it possible for me to sit beside you and not put my arm around your waist?'

'No,' said the princess.

So he put his arm around her waist. And then he kissed her, of course, and she kissed him.

'And now,' said the page, 'will you have the heart to refuse me for a husband?'

'No,' said the princess.

At that moment the king rushed in, and he was like a winter storm, he was. But when a princess has said a thing, not even the king may unsay it; and so the page and the princess were married and lived happily together for ever after."

The story comes to an end; the spinningwheels have stopped, as though to listen; the dim light of the *lucerne* rests upon dreaming eyes and parted lips. In the silence of the spinning-room, one may hear that the little lamps are sputtering.

"It will rain tomorrow," says Julia, resuming her work; "do you hear how they sputter?"

"Yes," answers Maria, a trifle listlessly; "didn't you hear the frogs, this evening? And the swallows were flying low, too."

Ottavia pushes back her chair and goes to the window, faintly silvery with uncertain moonlight.

"Sky full of little sheep," she says, her head still out.

Quintilia yawns wearily.

"'Sky full of little sheep: soon all the sky will weep'" she quotes. "Let's go to bed, maids."

And the olive trees faintly rustling in the breeze outside, what do they say? What are they whispering to each other? "*. . . testa cum ardente viderent*," I seem to hear, "*scintillare oleum . . .*" And again: "*Tenuia nec lanae per caelum vellera ferri . . .*"

Yes, even as of old, the simple country-dwellers mark the flame give notice of unseen, coming things; and the abyss of heaven, fathomless beyond our ken or comprehension, displays in the wondrous forms that float upon its surface intimations which they reverently understand. Still as of old, a red moon is of evil omen; still the new moon betokens rainy weather when it clasps the old moon in its arms; the countryman still rejoices when the stars shine clear and sharp. Unquestioning faith in what tradition teaches — that is the ploughman's *credo*; that, the reaper's. Science may smile, but when the moon is waning, the sower sows no grain. Is it fanciful to suppose that a leafy nut tree bodes a scanty crop? Sturdy Cesare thought otherwise, when I knew him. "No, no," he would insist, shaking his head; "it may be as you say, but as for me — you know the proverb:

Shadow of nut tree, shadow of master, shadow of priest:
These are the three a wise man likes least.

Not that I mean any disrespect, either," he would hurriedly add; "the proverb says like that, because when the priest comes there's no more help for you!" And immediately he would show all his white teeth in a boyish laugh, as I winked at him.

What is more peaceful than the assured tranquillity of these

Tuscan peasants? Their minds partake of the serenity of the sky; their bodies, of the wholesomeness of the earth. They have no doubts; their philosophy is immemorial tradition. As Cato and Vergil cultivated their fields, so do they cultivate theirs; and the *Georgics* might almost be duplicated, though not equaled, by an anthology of their proverbs. "*Humida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas*" — who does not remember? The sweet voice of the poet comes down the centuries. "August rain is fair and fine" — the proverbs pass on the word — "It rains honey, it rains wine. Who in the dust his wheat doth sow, must build a barn of oak, I trow. Who sows with the rain harvests with a basket." "*Quod nisi et adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris*, the sweet voice warns again; and promptly the blunt response: "He who sows and doesn't hoe will sweat much and little grow." And again: "The plough has a point of iron but the hoe has a point of gold." Still each season the grain for sowing must be selected: "Sow not from the sack but from your hand," says the proverb. Still the young wheat is cut over and fed to the cows. Still it is good wheat-soil that overtops the hole whence it was dug in rich, dense clods.

Indeed, are not the works and the days together things of nature? Do not the varying aspects of the fields but manifest the slow, beautiful cycle of the months? I find it hard to think otherwise. For twenty years, the first vital tingling of the air in February never once came upon my senses unaccompanied and meaningless. What was it but the springtime energy ringing out sharp and keen in the strokes of the pruning-hook on vine and olive tree; quivering in the voices of the peasants as shrill and long-drawn-out, they sang of Rosamund and Elmichi? Was there not a necessary correspondence, in March, between the almond trees blossoming white amid the blue of heaven and the great, gentle, white oxen breathing of cowslips and sweet hay below? Always mother Earth brought them forth together, as it were, from her vast bosom, what time the brown-faced country folk sowed millet and with patient hands planted potatoes and beans. Green down of tender wheat bore a name: April. Yes, and it

bore a coronet of spring-shower diamonds, and was lapped around in the rich green of potato fields, and fields of beans and peas. No easy taskmaster was this princeling April; he ruled over bent backs; he did not stint himself of weeds, though hands grew raw with weeding. Warm, fragrant, gracious, May followed him to soothe and comfort, pouring roses from full hands into each garden. Sweet was it, then, to sit in an old garden all a long, peaceful afternoon; sweet to watch the old gardener whetting his scythe with the whetstone that he carried in a horn at his belt, and then to listen as with long, leisurely strokes he mowed the lawn. For May was mowing-time. Yes, and June was the time to reap. The wheat fields that in April had been tender green, now lay a sea of gold beneath the blazing sun. All night one might hear the reapers singing as they toiled: singing one against the other, challenge and retort; improvising sweet, mellow variations on some old country song; breaking off, ever and anon, as from far and near rose multitudinous and deep the laughter that greeted victory. "June's at hand; scythe in hand!" cries the proverb. Yet the month was nearer spent than new when the bands of swarthy reapers descended from the hills into the fields. Many a cart-load of beans, and peas, and artichokes, had gone jogging away — donkey behind patient donkey — down the dusty highroad when the reapers appeared; and the thump, thump, thump, of rhythmic flails came through the breathless quiet of many a July day thereafter.

In August all hands were in the fields again, picking fruit: filling with plums, and cherries, and pears, and luscious figs baskets they called *corbelli*, *canestre*, *ceste*. I did not know, then, that I looked upon *corbes*, grown portly and broad of base with the passing centuries; nor that the capacious laps of *canestre* were doubtless familiar to Vergil as those of *canistra*; nor that the *cesta*, still uncompromising in cylindrical erectness, had, nevertheless, fallen from those days of civic dignity when, as a *cista*, it was the honored repository of the ballot. May a kindly fate allow no diminution, at least, of the implements of Bacchus; may tubs overflow with bunches as of yore when September robes my

hills in purple and green; may the chief labor of the season still be a joyous dancing in the red-splashing vats! Alas, that dancing was becoming rare even when I was a boy. Already, discontented, crude wanderers were raising loud voices in our villages, talking of machinery. What did they know of joyous labor, they, jiggling human adjuncts of an iron mechanism? What did they understand of the light-heartedness that bubbles from a glass of wine, they whom nothing but beastly drunkenness could satisfy? Were they merely hurrying black clouds? Let me think so. Let me believe that still the first cool winds of autumn will sweep the October sky spotless and bright; that still, the peacefulness of the paling heavens will flow down into the hearts of toiling ploughmen, and give assurance to sowers who, not daring, as further south, to await the morning setting of the Pleiades, are anxiously sowing their wheat. And when, as November follows, clouds gather and leaves begin to fall, may walnuts rattle down merrily upon laughing gatherers, may the songs of the pruners rise clear and sweet among the fruit trees, and the last, most peaceful harvest of the year fill many a basket with smooth, purple olives! Then all day in December cordage bags full to bursting will be thrust into the oil press, and from between the great stones, as patient *Buricchio* turns the windlass, will flow the golden oil, presently to be stored in barrels and, for daily consumption, in earthenware *orci* much like those now long unused at Ostia. Then in January, all the works of the year happily ended, it will be pleasant to gather around the great kitchen fire and mend baskets; or make them: many a tiny basket of reeds did one maiden weave for me with deft fingers. Or, if the day is a fine one, and the air clear and sharp, it will be rare sport to go out on the white high-road, a dozen strong youths together, and hurl the wooden disk, the *ruzzola*, with a run and a great bound.

It is not a *discus*: the dangerous plaything of the country youth is considerably smaller and thicker, slightly bi-convex, turned out of tough and heavy wood. Round and round the rim the thrower winds a slender cord with a loop at the end through which he passes his forefinger. Suddenly he stoops: palm down, finger ex-

tended along rim, his hand clutches the disc, swinging it rapidly, like a pendulum, at his side. He darts forward, bounds into the air, hurled upward by a tremendous underhand throw. "*Bene! Perbacco! Bene!*" chorus his rivals. Far ahead, the straight ribbon of dust ripped from the road by the hissing *ruzzola* is growing longer, longer. . . . Many a time has a broken leg played Hyacinthus to some country lad's Apollo; the *ruzzola*, often rimmed with iron, is a formidable toy. Nor is a winding road an assurance of safety, for those brown wrists are as dexterous as they are strong.

Does the *ruzzola*-thrower descend from the discobolus? Not I shall doubt it, who often and again, as the quiet of evening settled on the fields, have stood listening to that clamorous betting on protruded fingers changed only in name from Roman *micare digitis*; not I who have watched the country boys throwing turn by turn at little cairns of walnuts which they still call *castelli*, though the game of *castellum* which they are playing has been renamed *nocino*. Something the flowing tide of time has left behind it, since Vergil's day, among the dreaming hills; something it has taken away. But how little! And why, indeed, should it be otherwise? Does not the unchanging sap in vine and olive tree still produce wine and oil? Does not the golden sunshine still dwell in mysterious communion with the earth? Is she not the Great Mother as of old?

Sweet comfort of security amid the ever living verdure of my hills! Motherly restfulness of the earth's broad bosom! Vast breathing of an all-pervading peace! Who doubts your preserving might, spirit of the country? What wonder that you are still worshipped among your fields? For worshipped you are. Felt yet unseen, mysteriously infolding, one with the lives that in you have their being, you stir the folk to song, to curious dancing, to ceremonies ancient as tradition, to acts of worship stripped now of all meaning saving their very own.

A band of reapers approached me, early one morning, as I stood by the roadside, sheltered between tall hedges, bathed in splendor from fathomless depths above. They approached me

swinging their arms, laughing with mellow voices. And from the opposite direction, amid a multitudinous tender pattering of feet, there approached an old shepherd, trudging along at the head of his flock. The reapers blocked his way, swung into a crescent before him; awkwardly, like bears, they rocked backwards and forwards. One raised his voice, high, quavering. A deep growling chorus answered him. Still rocking like bears, awkwardly, the youths grinned at the shepherd bent over his tall staff, peering at them from beneath white, shaggy eyebrows. A sturdy, knotted old man he was: peering at them; grinning too, with a wicked old grin, fiercely joyful yet mocking; rocking too, first on one foot, then on the other. High, quavering, wild, rose the voice of the shepherd. A deep growling chorus answered it. With a rough laugh the reapers broke their line, strode on their way; the flock streamed forward like tumbling water among them. The shepherd kept the lead, prodding the road hard with his tall staff, peering up with fierce, bright eyes, a satyr smile half hidden in his beard. I did not understand what I had seen, but I too was grinning. Around me stretched the earth in her fullness, lying golden in the sunshine, offering her abundance to the fierce joy of the reaper.

Was I deceived? Were not the reapers Eucritus, Simichidas, Amyntas, challenging Lycidas to a country singing-match? Nay, challenge it was, but I shared in the mood that uttered it. Spontaneous, inarticulate, goatish glee, it was a direct response, — more so than the strange dances which recur, here and there, year after year. They, indeed, are unmistakable survivals of the old rites, but they survive chiefly as customs. Chiefly: for who can be sure that usage alone preserves them? When on May Day men shout and leap together, and brandish wooden swords above their heads, what pent-up anxiety over tender crops finds relief in the rough merry-making? What vague sense of battling against lurking danger preserves in the *maggio* the arval dance of old? On chill December evenings one may see white-robed figures with masks on their faces and straps of bells around their necks bound-

ing and capering in the village streets. Rustic masqueraders, if you will, morris-dancers; but who shall say what vague fear of the winter drives them on? Around them the wind-swept fields lie bleak and bare; the olive trees toss gray and desolate in the gathering gloom. Locked in the frozen bosom of the earth the wheat slumbers. Will it ever wake? Will there be bread next year? Ah, better dance the creeping fear away! Better jingle the bells: for what creeping, measureless things of evil are abroad on a winter's night?

Better jingle the bells: at mention of possible misadventure, you shall see the countryman furtively slip his hand into his pocket, and you shall hear something rattle. Why is he holding a harness-bell in his pocket? Mark the man next him: as he caught the ill-omened words, he quickly spat. Notice that other in the little group: he is making the sign of the horns over his left shoulder. That sign is as old as Rome, as old as the Etruscan gods. "*Absit omen!*" says a more cultured hearer gravely. The Tuscan countryman does not know our mechanical world: for him the world is full of unseen presences that watch us, for good and evil. The jingling bells and twinkling bits of glass on his mule's harness are intended to distract the Evil Eye. Some, he will tell you, can control these powers. Or are they possessed by them? What looks out from such faces? He can only fear. It is better for such eyes not to see in through the window; better for them to be met at the window sill by a pot of rue with a red woollen thread tied around it. But over and above all are the greater mysteries, vaguely felt in disquieting moonlight, in creeping cold, in the all-pervading might of nature. Those who live in huge cities hardly know whether anything exists beyond their miles of houses or above the smoky glare of their arc lights; machines amid machines what do they feel? But the countryman, standing in his field, faces and feels the universe. And when in winter that universe grows unfriendly and terrible, what can these happy, childlike people do? Poor simple children of the soil, one in their hopes and thoughts with the green things of summer, what can they

do but mutely pray the great mother of plants and men, at whose pleasure they thrive or droop and perish, that she will let them live, this once again?

Slowly, mysteriously, the earth awakes from her dark winter dream. A delicate veil of green, soft as the breathing of a child, steals over her. Flowers open their eyes in the sweet light of spring. See, there, and there, and yonder, in the fields, the dazzling white of almond trees in bloom! Listen: the birds! Rich and glossy, the foliage in the wood lets trembling rays of sunshine steal between and sparkle on emerald grass, and glow. purple and gold, on orchids and tufted furze. Hark! from a shady recess thick with ferns comes the low, happy murmuring of a brook. Meadows bask in the warmth of the caressing air, a-flutter with butterflies, humming with the drowsy contentment of the bees. The gardens on the hillside overflow, gorgeous and sweet, with blushing rosebushes. Hear them, the light-footed maids in the white villa, singing at their tasks! Hear the gardener respond! Hear, below in the field, the mellow bass and the shrill, sweet treble of country lad and lass! They sing unrebuked. Nay, hear the master, joining his voice to theirs in waggish glee! Springtime! And was not the omen for the year's crops favorable, on Easter Saturday, in the great church at Florence? Springtime! The earth has come to life again! But soft! What slow, beautiful chanting draws gradually near, on the white road? See! priests and white-robed acolytes. The mild spring sunlight shines on a golden cross borne high aloft, flashes on a golden censer that swings and smokes. Hark! words of invocation, words of blessing on the new, tender crops. Wonderful, vast, beneficent; lovely with trees and flowers; melodious with songs of birds, great Mother Earth! The gratitude of your children, even as of old, speaks in prayer at the yearly miracle of your awakening. Vergil would understand those chanted words. I, far away from the land where you are most beautiful, open his book and join him in your praise.

CICERO AND THE YOUNGER PLINY

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Teachers of third-year Latin, who are looking for illustrative and supplementary material, can find much of interest in the *Letters* of Pliny, who was a great admirer of Cicero, holding his writings in the highest esteem, and modeling his own oratory upon that of his great predecessor, at a time when quite a different style of public speaking had come into vogue.

Though Pliny was a somewhat voluminous writer in both prose and verse, very little has survived excepting his letters. These are a real treasure-trove, despite the fact that they were edited by him with a view to publication.

It is justly counted a piece of good fortune that Cicero never carried out a similar plan with reference to his own correspondence. Instead of a few carefully revised letters which he meant to publish, his literary executors seem literally to have emptied the files, giving us the letters just as they stood, thus passing on to posterity documents of unique value for an exact understanding of Cicero's character and the political history of his times.

But though Pliny's letters were written or revised with an eye to publication, that fact does not prevent us from getting a very clear view of the character of the man, somewhat as we learn much about Horace through his works, though he was everywhere writing for publication. Moreover, Pliny's letters give most entertaining and instructive glimpses of the life and manners of A.D. 100.

A recent excursion into Pliny's correspondence was so replete with suggestions of Cicero that it has seemed worth while to enumerate some of the more interesting and important of them.

1. Like Cicero, Pliny seems to have been the first of his line

to attain to high public office. But, in regard to this matter, times had greatly changed. In Cicero's day the consulship was jealously guarded by an exclusive clique; and a *novus homo* was inevitably exposed to many an insult. For Pliny, elevation to the consulship was virtually a gift of the emperor, and such honor was open to all qualified persons.

It is a significant indication of the cosmopolitan development of the Roman body politic that Cicero, born in Latium, is derided by his enemies as an intruding parvenu at Rome,¹ while Pliny (who was himself born north of the Po) records a recent order that candidates for office must own land somewhere in Italy, and adds that this new regulation is causing a real estate boom! Of the emperor's reasons for issuing such an order, he says:

Deforme arbitratus, ut erat, honorem petituros urbem Italiamque non pro patria sed pro hospitio aut stabulo quasi peregrinantes habere. — *Ep.* vi. 19, 4.

2. In the thirst for glory, Cicero and Pliny are very much alike. It is true that, speaking as a philosopher, Cicero counts *gloria* a rather unworthy end, in and for itself; and he has nothing but scorn for the pleasure which Demosthenes said he felt on overhearing a water carrier whisper to another: "There goes the great Demosthenes!"²

But these formal protestations accord ill with Cicero's frank eagerness for glory, as seen in his appeals to have his exploits heralded by such writers as Archias and Lucceius; and his criticism of Demosthenes becomes amusing when one reads his own account of the stir caused by his arrival in Asia Minor, when he went abroad as a provincial governor:

Multum est enim in his locis: "Hicine est ille, qui urbem, quem senatus?" — *Ad Fam.* ii, 10, 2.

In this connection, Pliny is both frank and consistent. He upholds Demosthenes, and counts it a most delightful compliment

¹ Cf. *inquilinus civis*, Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 31, 7. So *peregrinum regem*, Cicero, *pro Sulla*, 22 and 24.

² *Tusc. Disp.* v, 103.

that a stranger, in conversation with Tacitus, finally asks the question: "Are you Tacitus or are you Pliny?"³ He says, in fact, that nothing ever gave him greater pleasure than thus to be classed with so eminent a man.

With equal frankness and directness he appeals to this same prince of historians to honor him by mention in his writings, and proceeds forthwith to supply him with copy suitable for this purpose!⁴

3. A person acquainted only with the orations against Catiline might gather the impression that Cicero was inclined to be blood-thirsty on occasion. In reality he was a man essentially kind and considerate, as is shown by his treatment of people politically and socially inferior. The same is true of Pliny.

It fell to the lot of both men to serve as provincial governors in Asia Minor; and, in this capacity, their attitude toward the natives stands in happy contrast to that of the conventional type of plundering Roman official. Thus Cicero refused to undertake the collection of iniquitous claims, and shows a deep and real sympathy for the sorry plight of the poor people who had been impoverished by ruthless predecessors.

In like manner, it is significant that Pliny's official correspondence with the emperor Trajan has to do in large part with questions of equity. It is very clearly the governor's care that everyone shall have a hearing, and that no one shall be wronged. A notable case in point is that of his treatment of Christians found in the province.⁵

In the narrower sphere of personal relations, the affection and solicitous care of Cicero for his freedman Tiro are well known. Pliny also was very kind to his slaves. Distressed by their illness and death, he finds a generous solace in making them free men before they die, so that they may dispose by will of their small possessions.⁶

³ *Ep.* ix, 23, 2.

⁴ *Ep.* vii, 33; cf. vi, 16 and 20.

⁵ *Ep.* x, 96.

⁶ *Ep.* viii, 16.

He speaks at length of his concern for the health of one of his best secretaries, a freedman who from time to time "raises blood." Of him he says:

Quod si essem natura asperior et durior, frangeret me tamen infirmitas liberti Zosimi, cui tanto maior humanitas exhibenda est, quanto nunc illa magis eget. — *Ep. v, 19, 2.*

He goes on to say that, on a previous occasion, he had dispatched this secretary on a trip to Egypt, with a view to the recovery of his health, and now purposes to send him to a resort in southern France, where the sick man fancies that the climate and the milk are specially suited to the cure of his complaint.

4. Cicero's grief for the death of his daughter Tullia is recalled by a charming and touching letter which Pliny wrote on the death of a young girl, the daughter of a friend of his, who had endeared herself to all who knew her by her gentle and loving ways:

*Ut illa patris cervicibus inhaerebat! ut nos amicos paternos et amant-
er et modeste complectebatur! ut nutrices, ut paedagogos, ut praecep-
tores pro suo quemque officio diligebat!* — *Ep. v, 16, 3.*

When stricken with fatal illness, the little maid was not quite fourteen; but she was engaged to be married, the day was set, and the invitations "were out" (*iam electus nuptiarum dies, iam nos vocati*). With singular felicity Pliny paints a quaint picture of this small girl, who tries to act a grown-up part, and yet apparently has not yet quite "given up dolls":

*Nondum annos quattuordecim impleverat, et iam illi anilis prudentia, matronalis gravitas erat, et tamen suavis puellaris cum virginali verecundia. . . . Ut parce custoditeque ludebat!*⁷

To her self-forgetfulness even in the last extremity, a glowing tribute is paid in these words:

*Qua illa temperantia, qua patientia, qua etiam constantia novissimam valitudinem tulit! Medicis obsequebatur, sororem, patrem adhortabatur, ipsamque se destitutam corporis viribus vigore animi sustinebat.*⁸

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, § 2ff.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, § 3 ff.

The whole letter is distinctly human; it abounds in sentiments that are applicable to any age and any place. We all sympathize with the stab of pain which Pliny felt as he heard the bereaved father directing that the money laid aside for a joyous bridal be paid out for funeral expenses:

*Quod gaudium quo maerore mutatum est! Non possum exprimere verbis quantum animo vulnus acceperim, cum audiri Fundanum ipsum . . . praecipientem, quod in vestes margarita gemmas fuerat erogaturus, hoc in tus et unguenta et odores impenderetur.*⁹

5. Neither Cicero nor Pliny was naturally of a self-confident and aggressive temperament. In Cicero's case, occasional circumstances called forth unexpected vigor and determination. But the spectacular suppression of Catiline's conspiracy was hardly a case in point; for Cicero's conduct in that connection certainly is not marked by steadfast and unwavering courage.

Moreover, the "exploit" itself is much vitiated by the unseemly scramble to secure glory by "saving the state." It was no great matter to hire some traitors to betray the conspiracy, or to dispose of Catiline's pitiful little army; and it was a hard blow to Pompey and others that the *novus homo* should carry off this laurel.

A welcome contrast to Cicero's behavior in this connection is afforded by his later heroic stand against Antony. Here was a task that called for real and sustained courage; and Cicero measured up to the occasion, meeting with manly fortitude the death which his action entailed.

At the outset of his career, too, it required no small courage for a young orator to undertake the case of Sextus Roscius of Ameria, at the risk of incurring the enmity of the all-powerful Sulla. This action of his finds an interesting parallel in the decision of Pliny to avenge the death of his friend Helvidius Priscus.

Helvidius, like many others, had lost his life during the long period of misrule that for many years prevailed under the Roman emperors; and now, in the happier era ushered in by Nerva and

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, § 7.

Trajan, Pliny attacks in the senate the informer responsible for the death of his friend.

In an interlude in the senate proceedings, Pliny was approached by anxious acquaintances, who warned him to desist, because his action would make him a man marked for destruction by some future emperor; but he held to his course, and with these courageous words:

Omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi; nec recuso, si ita casus attulerit, luere poenas ob honestissimum factum, dum flagitiosissimum ulciscor. — Ep. ix, 13, 12.¹⁰

6. Pliny contributes some interesting illustrative material on senate manners and procedure. Whatever were the arrangements for seating, he makes it clear that the senators moved about with considerable freedom, even when business was going forward.

It will be recalled that Cicero speaks of the general movement of the senators away from Catiline on the occasion of the first invective; Pliny describes an even livelier scene where the senators "ran" from one side of the house to the other, in their eagerness to follow a debate that was then in progress:

Quo magis quosdam e numero nostro improbavi, qui modo ad Celsum modo ad Nepotem, prout hic vel ille diceret, cupiditate audiendi cursitabant. — Ep. vi, 5. 5.

It will be recalled, too, that when the senate was voting on the question of the punishment to be meted out to Lentulus and his associates, the clever speech of Caesar caused preceding speakers to change their vote. Pliny describes another such scene:

Nam quidam ex illis quoque qui Cornuto videbantur adsensi,¹¹ hunc, qui post ipsos censuerat, sequebantur. Sed cum fieret discessio, qui sellis consulum adstiterant in Cornuti sententiam ire coeperunt. — Ep. ii, 11, 21.

The change of vote under the influence of a succeeding speaker is clearly indicated here; but some other points are doubtful. It

¹⁰ *Ep. iii, 11* tells of another occasion when, in time of danger, Pliny showed himself a friend in need.

¹¹ *Sc. esse.*

has been thought that *sequebantur* indicates actual movement of the senators to a place near the person whose view they supported; and *sellis consulum adstiterant* surely means that some of the senators were on their feet and had gathered about the consuls before any formal *discessio* was begun.

Both passages make one think of Cicero's description of himself, at the beginning of the fourth invective, as the center of a group of agitated senators, who are so wrought up by their sympathy for him and fear for his safety that they are even reduced to tears.

As to the rules for *discessio*, Pliny has a very interesting letter¹² in which he appeals to a legal friend for his opinion on a case where three proposals were before the house — to execute, to banish, or to acquit.

Pliny was for acquittal, and seemed to have a plurality on his side; but the advocates of the death penalty and of exile stood together, and claimed that he was outvoted.

He in turn argued that the advocates of the death penalty and of exile could not vote as a unit, because the call to a *discessio* ran as follows: *Qui haec sentitis, in hanc partem, qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite, qua sentitis.* Hence, says he, since the advocates of execution and of exile hold different views, they cannot stand together.

This point he carried; whereupon the advocates of the death penalty changed their votes to exile, thus reducing the *discessio* to two parts, and deciding the case in favor of the milder penalty. Now that the matter is all over, Pliny consults his learned friend to find out whether he was right in his contention.

As to the decorum of the senate in general, we recall the disorder when Catiline tried to reply to Cicero's attack, and was cried down with shouts of "murderer" and "outlaw." Pliny mentions a somewhat similar occurrence:

Incipit respondere Veiento; nemo patitur; obturbatur, obstrepitur, adeo quidem ut diceret; "Rogo, patres conscripti, ne me cogatis implorare auxilium tribunorum." — *Ep.* ix, 13, 19.

¹² *Ep.* viii. 14.

In the matter of complimentary votes of the senate, the following has a strangely familiar sound:

Eodem senatus consulto industria fides constantia nostra plenissimo testimonio comprobata est. — Ep. iii, 9, 23.

7. Both Cicero and Pliny took much comfort in their country estates, where they could study and write at leisure. At his Tusculan villa Cicero had two gymnasia which he called "Academia" and "Lyceum" in honor of the enclosures at Athens where Plato and Aristotle lectured. In lighter vein, Pliny called two adjacent villas of his "Comedy" and "Tragedy," because one was on the shore and the other on higher ground; for in comedy the actor wore a flat slipper, whereas in tragedy he was supported on the high heel of the buskin.¹³

8. The iniquity of eyeglasses having not yet been discovered, Cicero, in his fifties, complains of growing trouble with his eyes, making it necessary to employ an amanuensis.¹⁴ Pliny too once makes complaint of his eyes, finding it necessary to stay in dark places, and to give up all reading and writing. Under these circumstances he sends off a little note to thank a friend for the present of a chicken, noting that, despite the condition of his eyes, he can see that it is a good fat bird!¹⁵

9. Neither Cicero nor Pliny cared much for the public games of their day. The former found nothing splendid in the sight of a man torn to pieces by wild beasts, nor yet in the death of a fine animal.¹⁶ One visit to the circus satisfies Pliny:

Circenses erant, quo genere spectaculi ne levissime quidem teneor. Nihil novum, nihil varium, nihil quod non semel spectasse sufficiat. — Ep. ix, 6, 1.

10. Advancement through favor was much sought in the times of Cicero and Pliny, and both men had many claimants. Cicero gives a very vivid picture of the working of the system in

¹³ *Ep. ix, 7, 3.*

¹⁴ See *Ad Att. viii, 12, 1.*

¹⁵ *Ep. vii, 21.*

¹⁶ *Ad Fam. vii, 1, 3; cf. ad Att. ii, 1, 1.*

the years following his exile, when Caesar was making every effort to smooth over the past and to win Cicero's support.

In pursuance of this policy, Caesar once wrote to Cicero a letter in which he urged him to nominate some young man to join his staff in Gaul, with a view to the favors that a provincial governor like himself might bestow. It happened at this juncture that Cicero was casting about for means to provide for a young jurist, C. Trebatius, a friend of his.

He accordingly sends him on to Caesar, and a very amusing correspondence begins.¹⁷ The young city blade, who went north for booty and advancement, is sadly disillusioned by a winter camp in Gaul, and shows not the least desire to accompany Caesar on a trip across the Channel to invade Britain.

Pliny seems to take a real joy in recommending his friends, securing an office for one, and an exemption for another. For many, he asks Roman citizenship from the emperor; and once at least he sponsors a young man to a provincial governor,¹⁸ much as Cicero recommended Trebatius to Caesar.

11. Cicero lived long enough to count himself an old man and to write his much-esteemed treatise *De Senectute*. Pliny is filled with admiration for the manner of life of his venerable friend Spurinna, and longs for the time when he, too, will be able to lay aside fretting cares and retire to such a life of cultured leisure.¹⁹ In a letter to another aged friend, he commends him for doing what Cato advocates in *De Senectute*, i.e. learning something new each day:

Magnam cepi voluptatem, cum . . . cognovi te . . . multum disputare, multum audire, multum lectitare, cumque plurima scias, cotidie tamen aliquid addiscere. — *Ep.* iv, 23, 1.

12. Like Cicero and most other Latin writers, Pliny has quite a number of notable and quotable sayings. He was a person open handed and generous, and seems quite in his element when parting with something of his own to help other people. In a

¹⁷ *Ad Fam.* vii, 6 ff.

¹⁸ *Ep.* ii, 13.

¹⁹ *Ep.* iii, 1.

charming letter to his old teacher, Quintilian, who appears not to have amassed a fortune on an academic salary, he even begs tactfully to be allowed "like a second father" to contribute to the outfitting of Quintilian's daughter, on the eve of her marriage to a rich young man.²⁰

Of his gifts he speaks with absolute freedom, and by no means conforms to the scriptural injunction "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." But he certainly is "orthodox" in the following passage, where he advocates giving to those who can make no return:

Laudas. . . . Nonium tuum, quod sit liberalis in quosdam; et ipse laudo, si tamen non in hos solos. Volo enim eum, qui sit vere liberalis, tribuere patriae, propinquis, adfinibus, amicis, — sed amicis dico pauperibus, non ut isti, qui eis potissimum donant, qui donare maxime possunt. — Ep. ix, 30, 1.

The connection is different, but he uses also a phrase that suggests the familiar idea of "robbing Peter to pay Paul":

Sunt ingenio simili, qui quod huic donant, auferunt illi. — Ep. ix, 30, 2.

The caution about "carrying all your eggs in one basket" is brought to mind by Pliny's uncertainty whether it is wise to acquire estates that lie so close together that they will be at the mercy of the same sort of weather. On this he says:

Tutius videtur incerta fortunae possessionum varietatibus experiri. — Ep. iii, 19, 4.

The witticism regarding "being so good as to be good for nothing" also finds a parallel in his works:

Dixi de quodam oratore saeculi nostri . . . "Nihil peccat, nisi quod nihil peccat." — Ep. ix, 26, 1.

The orator here in question was evidently of the type described in a modern anecdote. After his address one hearer said: "Well, he showed great reserve power, at any rate." "Yes," added another, "he reserved all he had."

²⁰ *Ep. vi, 32.*

Anyone desiring to wish a friend "many happy returns of the day" may find a model in Pliny's birthday greeting to the emperor:

Opto, domine, et hunc natalem et plurimos alios quam felicissimos agas. — Ep. x, 88.

The feeling that impels to "knock on wood" after mention of previous good fortune finds somewhat different expression in a letter in which Pliny upholds the salubrious air of one of his estates:

Mei quoque nusquam salubrius degunt; usque adhuc certe neminem ex eis quos eduxeram mecum (venia sit dicto) ibi amisi. — Ep. v, 6, 46.

It is much to be desired that third-year Latin be enlivened by the introduction of supplementary or substitute readings. Cicero's letters have long been available; but they seem to be little used, though, by proper selection, they open up a field of wide interest.

There has doubtless been too great a tendency to include in third-year texts letters from the period of Cicero's exile, on the practical ground that they are short and easy to read. But they present Cicero in a very unpleasant light, and it is not hard to understand why their appeal has not been great.

It is not to be expected that there will be any sweeping change in the program that makes Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil the backbone of the secondary course in Latin. But the brilliant imperial period, which, in point of interest, is vastly nearer the life of today, lies still virtually untouched. The monotony of the third year could be wonderfully relieved by an infusion of this new blood.

THE *MOIRA* OF AESCHYLUS AND THE IMMANENT WILL OF THOMAS HARDY

By APOLLO P. D. VALAKIS
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A great deal has been written about the "kindred spirit" which pervades the works of the Athenian dramatist of the fifth century B. C. and the great English novelist of today; and the subject seems to be of wide interest and genuine importance. On the other hand much of what has been said about these two authors is confusing, if not confused. For one thing, their kinship of spirit and similarity of style is overemphasized. And, at this point, I recall a gentleman who asked me whether or not Aeschylus, like Hardy, is guilty of splitting the infinitive. Moreover, because of the frequent mention of the two names together, Aeschylus may be taken as a pessimist. Obviously then a few more words about their stylistic peculiarities, and an explanation and limitation of their "kindred spirit" are not only desirable but necessary.

Their style has been described with the same epithets as elevated and rugged, pompous, flowing, simple and austere. Hardy's style is indeed, like Aeschylus', simple and severe and stately; and it is sustained throughout with a remarkable sincerity which is Hardy's unquestionable quality. Both are inclined to dwell in shadows and paint their pictures in somber colors. But Hardy's style is unrelieved with the gentle spirit of sympathy which illumines even the gloomiest pages of Aeschylus. And with all its simplicity and stateliness we find it full of learned technicalities, high sounding rhetoric, and scientific expressions which are not only unnecessary but also out of harmony with the simple characters he deals with and their rough and wild environment. When

his simple tragedy is culminating with a sweeping intensity, phrases like "pink nebulosity," or "redemptive theolatri," or "the wet cobwebs, that hung like movable diaphragms," are unpleasant intrusions which irritate and confuse the reader. Lionel Johnson goes further to show that such words are not only out of tune with their setting, but they conflict even with their very neighbors; he calls them "oil and vinegar, refusing to mix." At times again, Hardy breaks out in fitful phrases and arguments which do nothing so well as to impede his narrative. Selma Lagerlöf speaking about our two selves, the one which acts, and the other which sits back and watches the acting, describes the second one as a creature with icy eyes and "long, bent fingers" who sits in the darkest corner of the soul and picks to pieces our being. It killed all emotion in the beautiful Marianne, and it can kill all spontaneity in literature, if it is allowed to creep out too far from its corner. This is what happens, to a large degree, in the works of Hardy, and especially in his *Dynasts*.

The language of Aeschylus is often called rugged by his admirers, and Aristophanes has accused him of bombast. I fail to see this "ruggedness" in Aeschylus, and the more I read him the more I feel his other quality: the harmoniousness which underlies the superficial inequalities. L. Campbell tells us that what ruggedness there is, is felt only "by the stumbling tyro, to whom perhaps the last thing clearly perceptible is the full continuous flow, as of an uncooled lava stream." The figurative language of Aeschylus and the "grand manner" which pervades all his work is highly appropriate to his mood and theme. For Aeschylus is at once a poet and a prophet — an epic and lyric as well as a dramatic poet. His characters are Gods and Titans and Heroes, the Furies and the Nymphs and the Elements. "Mighty-mouthed harmonies" and grandiloquence are appropriate in the mouth of a God, or a Prometheus: and bombastic utterances, expected of Brute-Force; but they are out of place and objectionable in the mouth of a rustic.

The novels of Hardy have something of a mysterious awe about them which is also very prominent in the Aeschylean drama, and

there is also an occasional outburst of poetry in all his novels, true and passionate enough to assure him the title of a poet. But in poetic genius and dramatic instinct Hardy is manifestly inferior to Aeschylus. One point that shows clearly both their affinity and differences is their idea of the tragic life and of the tragic hero. It is significant, perhaps, that Hardy goes back to the Greek idea of tragedy. Few words are necessary to indicate this relationship. A common definition of tragedy is that it represents the triumph of the universal over the particular. In other words the essence of tragedy is conflict. Whether this conflict is subjective or objective, *i.e.* whether it takes place entirely within the mind of a man, or man and a power outside (be it Necessity or Fate), this is the main difference between modern and classical drama. Not that the subjective element is absent from the classical or the element of Fate from the modern drama (see especially Calderon and Schiller). Necessity without and free will within are the elements that run through every great tragedy that has ever been written; but complexity of character and conscious psychological analysis are more characteristic of the drama of today. Assuming that all criteria of right or wrong are within man himself, modern drama intensifies the struggle within the individual. "There is no longer a God," says Maeterlinck, "to widen, or master, the action; nor is there an inexorable fate to form a mysterious, solemn and tragical background for the slightest gesture of man." But, he continues, "there still abides with us, . . . a terrible unknown." Hardy finds this "terrible unknown" without man, and it is in this that his idea of Destiny, or Immanent Will, is akin to the *Moirai* of the Greeks.

Originally the Greeks, in common with the Hebrews, thought of their Gods as opposed to human perfection and jealous of their happiness. Fate was inexorable and rigid, and made humanity its sport. In all the epic and lyric poetry of Hellas there is an undercurrent woe which appears to be the reflection of the unsatisfactory conditions of the time. That the noble and vile alike must die, is the recurrent melancholy strain amidst the vivid pictures of the *Iliad*. A deeper presentation of the feeling of injustice

and a more detailed account of actual human misery and woe is given us by the epic poet Hesiod. It was this gloomy view of life that made the elegiac poet Theognis sing:

T'were best by far ne'er to be born,
Next best to die forthwith.

That misery was prevalent in the world; that death was oftentimes preferable to life; that good and wicked men were similarly crushed by Heaven; this was the tradition that Aeschylus inherited and, in the main, accepted. But his work has nothing of the spirit of resignation, nothing to indicate that it was the product of exhaustion; of an outworn age, "nor the sickliness incident to youth, that 'will be as sad as night only for wantonness.'" It is the echo rather of those glorious days when Athens had the firmest hold on life. In a characteristic way he has taken this gloomy tradition and modified it to suit the interest of his art. And in so doing he has given us an unmistakable proof of his supreme dramatic genius. His fate is not the implacable Adrasteia, but the apportioner Nemesis, the power which allots to every man according to his deserts. Man with his arrogance and insolence excites the *ire* of the Gods, not their jealousy. Evil is self-productive (*Ag.* 758), and through moderation and piety man may avert ruin. Man is not here the puppet we find so frequently in the epic and lyric poetry of Greece. With certain limitations, Aeschylus has given him a choice and the freedom of will. He saw the misery and injustice in the world and found that it conflicted with his deep moral convictions. He saw "steadily" the touching spectacle of life, and felt himself under a real necessity for accounting for the phantasmagoria of existence. He saw the position of man and set out to explain his relation to the Divine or supreme Power. This is a mood which Hardy shares in full measure. In the case of Aeschylus the real necessity of his mission can be understood more clearly if we look for a moment into the conditions which existed during his time.

Half a century before Aeschylus the Orphic movement became prevalent. A new spirit of Pantheism was gradually remoulding Polytheistic Religion such as that expressed by Hesiod. But

Aeschylus is not to be identified with the teachings of any school; for he was primarily an original genius and has thought deeply on the divine attributes and the divine workings. During his time the speculations of the philosophers began to spread widely among the people and threw doubts on current theology and mythology. Aeschylus undertook the task of providing a basis for a new faith. The Olympian Gods had replaced the old barbaric deities and, in the *Prometheus Bound*, we see Zeus very busy, indeed very cruel, in establishing his supremacy. Pheidias justified the new deities in marble, and Aeschylus interpreted them upon the Attic stage. But who are these new deities? and are they going to rule the world with justice, and order it on lines which appeal to human reason? Zeus is very unreasonable in the *Prometheus*, very cruel, very tyrannical. But he had to establish himself, and he was new ("Are not all rulers harsh that newly reign?")¹ and inexperienced ("But Time, as he groweth old, can teach all things").² Zeus, in this play, represents the present, with its exigencies, its imperiousness and its force; he is Power and forgets the past (Prometheus helped him to dethrone Kronos) and ignores the future.

But Zeus whom Aeschylus worshipped was an entirely different ruler. The action of the *Prometheus* takes place at some remote time, and ages since, Zeus and Prometheus had been reconciled. Time had taught Zeus through suffering (fragment 199, 201, 199a), and Power (Zeus) and Wisdom (Prometheus) had met together by destinies and law and retribution. The desire for order and harmony is the ground idea of his "trilogy" and is ultimately satisfied in the *Eumenides*. The miserable business of revenge upon revenge is definitely condemned. The physical and moral torments of Orestes are come to an end, and the purified Argive may return to reign in his pacified fatherland. "The darkness is past and the light now shineth" — πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν. "Destiny is no longer the blind inexorable power of primitive belief, but has beneficent aspects, and works, however slowly, in har-

¹ Line 35, and elsewhere. ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς, ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ

² Line 981, 'Ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πάνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος.

mony with eternal justice." The dread Erinyes are transformed to the Eumenides εὐθύνδίκαιοι, who preside over public and domestic peace. The moral evolution among the gods (with a corresponding progress among men) has changed wrathfulness to mercy, revenge to equity, divine malignity to divine Nemesis. Aeschylus holds before mankind an ideal of righteousness, purity, and mercy, and in this he resembles the Hebrew prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. But he differs from them in two important details. Unlike the prophets he has a bright appreciation of innocent human joys, and while the Messianic vision was placed in the future, Aeschylus saw it to be in actual progress among his own countrymen. The Persians had been defeated with the help of the Olympian Gods, and religion became identified with the national cause. Aeschylus himself had fought against the "long-haired Medes," and a few years after Marathon he witnessed a period of extraordinary political and economic reconstruction. A few words about his *Prometheus Bound* are necessary at this point, because the play is often thought to contradict the ideas outlined above.

Critics of Aeschylus all praise his unique dramatic genius and his extraordinary lyric gift; but most of them seem to forget these principles when they turn to interpret his *Prometheus*. And very often they pervert his dramatic instinct into evidence of political and philosophical leanings which the poet had not. "The Persai' and 'Eumenides' are no doubt inspired with Athenian patriotism; but this was always ready to be called forth, and needed not any occasional motive for its expression. Such motives, even if they existed, . . . are but slightly connected with the artistic result, which depends on independent laws of poetic and dramatic creation."³ It is this erroneous reading of Aeschylus that offers so much difficulty in the interpretation of *Prometheus*. Aeschylus was primarily a poet, and his plays cannot be taken to represent any consistent system of philosophy. His mission was to present in his dramas the traditions of the

³ L. Campbell.

people. In the *Prometheus Bound* he has taken the primitive legend, and, guided by his dramatic instinct, he has created an interesting and moving hero, and drawn the sympathies of the audience on his side. We know that he was of that heroic band that stood in Marathon to check the hordes of the "barbaric" invaders, who represented for the Greeks, backwardness, ignorance, and superstition. Is it difficult to see that, once his mighty heart was stirred by the Promethean legend, he himself rebelled for the moment and identified himself with the hero? We do not know clearly the elements contained in the Eleusinian worship, but could it not be that Æschylus, if it is true that he betrayed the mysteries, sinned, just like Prometheus, in the cause of humanity (τοῦ φιλανθρώπου τρόπου)? Moreover, this play is but a third of the Promethean trilogy in which the *Prometheus Fire-bringer* and *Prometheus Unbound* were the other two. It is absurd to analyze this play by itself and bring our conclusions to bear upon our final judgment of the poet's moral philosophy and religious belief. As Lionel Johnson puts it, we might just as well judge Dante's faith only by his *Inferno*. Indeed the play yields itself to private interpretations, like those of Shelley and Goethe, but the *Prometheus* of Æschylus "is not an allegory, nor a philosophical treatise, but a poem in the fullest sense of the word."

In all the rest of his work that we now possess, Æschylus the moralist goes hand in hand with the poet, and his religious views are fairly consistent. It is true that doubts have assailed him occasionally and forced such utterances as that in the famous strophe of the *Agamemnon*:

O Zeus — whate'er He be,
If that name please Him well,
By that on him I call:
Weighing all other names I fail to guess
Aught else but Zeus, if I would cast aside,
Clearly, in every deed,
From off my soul this idle weight of care.

In the *Agamemnon* we find Zeus working in unison with *Moiræ*; in the *Choephori*, the two ideas merge. But there is no room

here to discuss such points in detail. It is enough, for our purposes, to know that whether the poet sings of Zeus or Fate, we recognize in his utterances and behind these symbols a supreme power with mysterious attributes and workings. This power is the *Moir*a of the Greeks, not corresponding in all details to our Fate. It is a vast, shadowy, all-pervading background; not good or evil in itself, but rather the stuff out of which good and evil arise — the order of the world as it exists. Into *Moir*a move all superhuman powers, the spirits of evil and the spirits of good. Man finds himself in its clutches, and Aeschylus felt very strongly the impassable bars against which human nature does battle. He is convinced of the inevitableness of things, but not in Hardy's fatalistic way; for it is not exclusive of free will. "It is a reflection that occurs in many people in considering any grave calamity that it is the natural outcome, the consequences of many things that took place before." The first sin produces a curse, ἀρά, which broods over the scene of wrong and pursues the race of the sinner. It is thus that Fate becomes associated with the Erinyes, the goddesses of retribution.

Human life was the scene of warfare between good and evil principles, but not in the sense of the Manichaeian duality which we find in the works of Hardy; for it was up to man himself whether the good or the evil was to triumph in particular situation or generation. And even more, in the long run the triumph of justice was assured. Gods have a definite relation to human conduct, in which both sides had their obligations.

"And I will help him and my suppliant free:
For dreadful among gods and mortals too
The suppliant's curse, should I abandon him."

Thus speaks Apollo in the *Eumenides* (232-234). The gloomiest Fate in Aeschylus still yields an opportunity to the human will. *Moir*a makes for righteousness, but its workings are in accordance with eternal principles which are dimly conceived at first, and become more and more distinctly manifest in the evolution of the human race. These principles are Nemesis, Retribution, and

* Gilbert Murray.

Heredity. Nemesis is a sort of artistic retribution. It seems to be a reaction against excess, against that haughty Insolence (*Hybris*), the natural precursor of Nemesis. It is this pride that prepares the fall; but Retribution is identified with Justice (*Δίκη*), and an ode in the *Agamemnon* (727) clearly sets Justice *vs.* Nemesis, contending that it is impiety which "brings forth fresh impiety like to the parent stock." Retribution, the care of the Erinyes, shall come upon all sinners. He "who doeth shall suffer." Heredity is the most inexplicable of the workings of destiny or *Moirā*; "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." This is the mysterious aspect of the tri-headed Gorgon *Moirā*; but the shield has another side. By a spirit of moderation we may avert ruin, we may avoid Nemesis; by atonement, by the law of equity and mercy, we may make an end of guilt, we may purify ourselves of a hereditary curse, and thus inaugurate a brighter day. All creation moves on steadily towards an ideal of righteousness as a sort of final cause. An inevitable progress from blind retribution to divine justice, from moral chaos to moral cosmos, brings humanity ever nearer to the goal of righteous consummation.

Thus Aeschylus escapes from pessimism, and to the urgent problem we have mentioned above he gives an affirmative reply. Through doubts, contradictions, and other perplexities, he emerges with an idea of harmony and of divine justice, but Hardy is not, like Aeschylus, a philosophic advocate of the gods; he is a scientific agnostic of the modern type. Like Aeschylus he will replace an old conception of Godhead by a new one. He fails to reconcile the facts presented by science with the revelations of Christianity; he can find no room for a Divine Providence in a materialistic universe governed by the unalterable relation of Cause to Effect; he has been obsessed by that European convulsion, the Napoleonic Wars, and his reply to our problem is a melancholy confession of Nescience and Agnosticism. The God he presents to us is not the *Moirā* of the Greeks nor the paternal Zeus of Aeschylus — it is not a person. It is an abstract blind energy that moves on mechanically, without intelligence and to no purpose. With a

bitter irony Hardy invents a name, and calls this "energy" the Immanent Will. It knows no justice because it has no consciousness, and, as it moves on blindly, it crushes everything in its way and heaps up misfortunes upon unsuspecting souls.

It works unconsciously, as heretofore,
Eternal artistries in Circumstance,
Whose patterns, wrought by rapt aesthetic rote,
Seem in themselves Its single listless aim
And not their consequence.

Men are wretched things, miserable puppets that dance to a tune set them by this blind power which —

"Like a knitter drowsed,
Whose fingers play in skilled unmindfulness,
The Will has woven with an absent heed
Since life first was: and ever will so weave."

Nature itself dreads life just as his characters do. In *Tess*, the birds which came from the north and have seen "cataclysmal horrors" have tragic eyes; and Marty South speaks of the newly planted trees sighing as if they dreaded to begin to live. Hardy's Olympus is the "Overworld," as he calls it in the *Dynasts*, and his grim Pantheon consists of the "It" or First Fundamental Energy, the Ancient Spirit of the Years, the Choruses of Pities, the Spirits Sinister & Ironical, the Shade of the Earth, Recording Angels, and Messengers. What a parody of the Homeric Olympus and of Greek Tragedy! and what a dreary prospect this is with the mocking laughter of the Spirits Sinister as the ruthless tragedy moves on! And with what a frigid curiosity Hardy proceeds to draw his pictures, a curiosity that becomes at times almost morbid. He takes as his theme the stupendous struggle of England against Napoleon and strips it clean of every human element involved — of passions and weaknesses, of rival wills and ambitions. And when he succeeds in conceiving it as a "mechanical game of celestial chess in which the Immanent Will makes its blind moves without prescience or purpose, and human beings are helpless pawns or counters pushed hither and thither," he presents it in a dramatic form. But the sense of tragedy is weakened in

such a soulless scheme. If we can read this book it is because we do not believe in it, and because we know Mr. Hardy to be more clement than his Immanent Will.

"Mock on! mock on! Yet I'll go pray
To some Great Heart, who happily may
Charm human miseries away."

This is the voice of the Spirit of the Pities, and we recognize in it the instinctive human cry which Hardy, even in the *Dynasts*, cannot altogether ignore. At the very end of the *Dynasts* the Chorus of Pities is made to suggest a theory which reminds us of the Aeschylean idea of moral evolution. Is it not possible that Fate or Will may develop intelligence? May not consciousness be evolved out of Unconsciousness? This idea, in which we may see Von Hartman's two "*grunds*" Will and Idea, or the unconscious and the conscious, may be fraught with hope for Maeterlinck, who feels that the future is within us, and that some day we shall be able to penetrate the veil of the unconscious; but in Hardy there is not a passage to suggest that man shall have more knowledge of the secret laws of nature and the realm of the unknown. "Who holds that if way to the better there be, it exacts a full look at the worst?" Hardy holds that man shall always exchange blows with Fate in the vast battlefield we call the world, and Fate shall always be the winner. Do what we may we cannot alter destiny and avoid misery and pain. Our Fate is all determined. Most of his characters are pitiable only because we retain an illusion of freedom.

This spirit of helplessness, with the resulting tragic ineffectiveness, is best illustrated in the story of Tess. This beautiful village girl, a lineal descendant of an ancient family, with inherited passionate impulses and a sensitive nature, falls the prey, by a mere accident, first of man's gross instincts, and then, again by a series of "mere" accidents, the victim of his conventional virtues. Finally she is hanged, apparently for no other reason than to amuse God, and thus the "President of the Immortals (in Aeschylean phrase) had ended his sport with Tess." She was seized by malicious circumstances and was ruthlessly destroyed. Tess does

not dare Fate, and does not fight for her cause. Her life fills us with a strong sense of pity, but there is little tragedy in it. There is not here the conflict between Fate and man, as we find it in Aeschylus, the conflict which arises when man's unbridled desires exceed the limits of his Destiny. To make the point clearer we may be allowed here to compare Tess with Antigone. For Antigone did not suffer like Tess in innocence, neither did she abandon herself to Destiny. She chose her course and went courageously into the conflict with Fate knowing it was her doom. Maeterlinck classes her among the sages and calls her drama the drama of wisdom of which there are few examples in the world. There is all that is glorious and nothing hopeless in the fate of Antigone, for she has found something that was worth dying for. Tess is a pitiful victim who dies gladly because life was always sighing in her ears: "It would be better not to be born."

It is said of Lincoln that after viewing the horrors of a battlefield he asked for a "comical song." The reader would hardly disagree with me if I choose to close this study with the song:

"Let me enjoy the Earth no less
Because the all-enacting Might
That fashioned forth its loveliness
Had other aims than my delight."

AN OLD ROMAN COOKBOOK

By HELEN LOVELL MILLION
Des Moines, Iowa

The importance of Roman Cookery to those who are interested in modern cookery and its sources may be understood when we consider that the Roman cookery, based on the Greek, as were most of the Roman arts, was the basis of the cookery of Europe, since the Italians learned from the Romans, and the French admittedly from the Italians. In fact Professor Finck (*Food and Flavor*) reports that the number of European cookbooks written in Latin exceeded those in any other language until the seventeenth century, when the French outran the Latin, and the next century the German took the lead.

The work with which this article deals, *Apici Caeli de Re Coquinaria*, is by common consent believed to date from the third century and not to be the work of the well-known prodigal and gourmand of the first century, whose work is alluded to by Pliny, Seneca, and others. It may be by one Caelius and named for Apicius.

It is found in several manuscripts and editions, of which the latest is that of Giarratano and Vollmer, published at Leipzig in 1922. This contains only notes of textual criticism. Prior to this, one was published at Heidelberg by Schuch, who edited it with a long and entertaining introduction and Latin notes, many of which are very helpful, as the text is difficult to read because of the number of unusual words and the bad state of the text. One needs at one's side constantly the large Latin and Greek lexicons and then cannot always find the meaning. Sometimes the trouble is due to different spellings as the loss of the *h* in *haedus*.

Four hundred and seventy-eight recipes are arranged in ten

books with Greek titles meaning, "The Careful Cook," "The Flesh-Roaster," "The Keeper of the Garden," "The All-Receiving," "Legumes," "Birds," "Expensive," "Quadrupeds," "Sea Foods," and "Fish."

There is one recipe for salts for medicinal purposes and some for renovating spoiled materials and preserving by pickling, preserving in honey, sterilizing in boiled or boiling water, and packing in sawdust or barley.

We see that the Romans were familiar with the idea of substitutes as we have here a rule for making rose wine without roses, and even Cato gave one for making Greek wine in Italy. Such a recipe is number 132, a dish of *aphya* without *aphya*:

You will make very fine the pulp of fish, either roast or boiled, in such quantity that it may fill a dish as large as you wish. You will grind pepper and a little rue and will pour on fish-sauce in sufficient quantity with a little olive oil and will mix in the dish with the pulp. Then also raw eggs broken together so it makes one body. Above you gently place sea nettles. You will expose to steam so that they go together with the eggs; and when they have dried, you sprinkle over ground pepper and serve. At the table no one will know what he is eating.

Recipe 134, for the Apician dish, suggests a meat pie:

The Apician dish you will make thus: Bits of sow's pap, pulp of fishes, pulp of chicken, fig-eaters or cooked breasts of thrushes, and whatever shall be best, all these you will carefully cut fine except the fig-eaters. Raw eggs, indeed, you dissolve with olive oil. You will grind pepper and lovage, will pour on fish-sauce, wine, raisin wine, and put into a pot to warm and bind with starch. Before, however, you will put all the cut pulp there and so let it boil; but when it shall have cooked, you will thin it with its juice and pour into the dish in turn with a dipper mince, whole grains of pepper, with pine nuts, so that you will spread under a double layer through each layer, then the crust similarly. You will fill as many dippers as you have placed crusts. One crust indeed you will cut through with a punch and put above. You will sprinkle pepper. However you will bind those pulps beforehand with broken eggs

and put into the *saccubum* then the ingredients. What sort of bronze dish you ought to have is shown below.

The Roman "White Sauce" was made as follows:

You will make hard eggs, will cast out the yolks, will put into a mortar with white pepper, nut kernels, honey, white wine, and a little fish-sauce. You will grind and put into a vessel that it may boil. This is called white sauce.

In Book Seven are a few recipes for "Domestic Sweets," a term which seems to have worried Schuch as he says they were to him very bitter; but he concludes they were just made in the home kitchen. Here is one that may be tried: "You will take palm dates or dactil dates with the seed taken out, you will stuff with nuts or nut kernels, honey, ground pepper, and sprinkle with salt on the outside. You fry and serve with cooked honey."

In comparing this book with modern cookbooks we see many differences. The matter is not so well arranged as in a modern book and there is neither index nor table of contents. Our books contain also much about food-values, bacteria, chemical reactions, and something of vitamins or the principles of flavor and their relation to digestion.

A large part of the book is taken up with recipes for sauces and all contain so many spices and other condiments that one feels that they must have used very strongly flavored food; but probably the quantities used were small. Our recipes for curry powder and Worcestershire sauce contain about the same ingredients. But they had to grind them fresh every day and so had probably a finer flavor. We are glad to be spared the work in our maidless homes, however.

Of methods they had many. In addition to roasting, boiling, and frying, and cooking on a grille or *craticulum*, they had the double boiler with inside vessel of wicker-work; the *vatillum* or *batillum*, a chafing dish with coals in the lower pan; the cooking in *thermospodium* or hot ashes, corresponding to our fireless cooking or the method of the clam bake; and the cooking in *carta*, or paper. Soyer, the inventor of the paper-bag cookery of a few

years ago, was aware that the idea was not new; but claimed only the discovery of a paper that would not give flavor to the food.

The Roman fuels were wood and coal. Perhaps our greatest gain comes from the use of cleaner fuels and devices to measure heat more exactly.

Two kinds of ovens are mentioned, the *furnus* and *clibanus*, and of utensils they had the *olla*, in one place mentioned as covered, and *caccabus*, perhaps the same, both used especially for cooking meat; the *sartago*, like our frying pan; the *cortina*, or kettle; and the *craticulum*, a piece of metal wicker work. Other articles were the smaller dishes; *calix*, or cup, *cyathus*, or ladle, *trulla*, or dipper, *acetarius*, a cup primarily for vinegar, *cupella*, a small cask, the mushroom dish, or *boletar*, and *pultarius* for porridge, and flat-shaped dishes for cooking and especially for serving; the *patella*, *lanx*, and *discus*; the mortar for grinding spices and other things; sponge for wiping tables and meats; the strainer or sieve, *colum*; spoon, *coclear*; knife, *cultellus*; molding board, *tabula*; *savanum*, napkin; and linen thread for sewing in stuffing.

Of food materials both animal and vegetable, they had many, some of which had been in use from prehistoric times, and some were introduced early by the Greeks from India, China, and Egypt chiefly.

They had cattle, already domesticated from prehistoric times. No recipes for the adult animal are given, though the bladder of the ox is mentioned. The calf was used commonly, and the milk and cheese from the cow as well as the goat and ewe. Kids and lambs and wild sheep, wild boar, and pigs were much used. Perhaps the "lamb," "kid," and "calf" may have come to be used for animals not very young, as sometimes with us.

Of these animals it might almost be said, as of the packing-houses today, that they used "everything but the squeal." Liver, in some cases fig-fattened liver, lungs, brains, matrix, paps, shoulder, loins and kidney, hoofs, glands, stomach, and intestines are mentioned as used. The heart is not named. Besides methods mentioned above, the meat was often minced and made

into sausages, of which the Lucanian were especially famous. Smoked meats, as ham and bacon, were also used.

The deer, roe-deer, hare, rabbit, and dormouse were used. The latter is still used in Europe, especially before hibernating when it is well fattened.

Among fowls, hens and chickens, especially the latter, take the lead. Parthian and Numidian breeds were mentioned. Perhaps the latter were the guinea fowls of which one variety was known to the Greeks and two to the Romans. Of these, except the heart, all parts were used and of the capon also. This bird came from India very early, though not mentioned in Homer or the Old Testament. It was known to Pindar and Aristophanes, who calls it the Persian bird. It is found on Babylonian cylinders and according to tradition was introduced into China in the fourteenth century B. C.

From India they had also by later importation the peacock, served at fine dinners and with a garnish of its own plumage, and the parrot. The parrot was mentioned by Ctesias in his *Indica*, Chapter III. All are familiar with Ovid's elegy on the parrot, and both these birds were common in Nero's time. The duck and goose were early domesticated, and the ostrich and flamingo were imported, and the crane, partridge, turtledove, wood pigeon, woodcock, thrushes, and fig-eaters are named.

Eggs were commonly used in cooking, probably hens' eggs.

Of fish the Romans were very fond, and they had a great variety. In this book we are told how to serve or with what sauce to serve, the electric ray, torpedo, sheet, tunny, young tunny, perch, sardines, gilt bream, cornuta, mullets, scorpio, a prickly sea fish, the murena and conger eels, sea mussels, sea urchin, oysters, and the three cuttle fish, sepia, loligo, and polypus, also lobster, squills, and crabs. Of these minces were often made.

From some fish the famous fish-sauces were made. These were called *allec*, *muria*, *garum*, and *liquamen*. The last is in almost every recipe in the book and rather seems to be the general

term. I cannot find anything really satisfactory about it or the others. It probably contained salt, thus accounting for the rare mention of salt as an ingredient, though we know it was much valued.

Of animal foods there remain the snail and *lacertus*, either a lizard or a kind of fish.

Of fruits, apples, pears, pomegranates, and grapes were native about the Mediterranean and cultivated there from the earliest times. These were said to have been planted in the garden of Alcinoos. Service apples, elderberry, and the black mulberry were also native.

Imported fruits were: the peach, called *Persica*, but known in China at least a thousand B. C.; the Cydonian apple, or quince, named from Cydon in Crete, but probably from Japan; the citrus, perhaps a native of the Himalaya valley, China, or Cochin China, mentioned by Theophrastus in 300 B. C.; the plum, a native of the Caucasus and Anatolia and cultivated by the Swiss Lake Dwellers, called by the Romans *Damascena* from the source from which they believed it to come; the fig, from Caria by way of Greece; dates from Asia, where they were known in Assyrian days; cherries, brought to Rome by Lucullus; *pepones* and *melones*, either pumpkins or watermelons, common in ancient Egypt; and the olive, a native of Syria brought to Athens very early and to Italy after the reign of Priscus, but soon enough to become an export in the consulship of Pompey.

From the grape they had raisins and wine. Boiled wine and raisin wine were used, and scarcely a recipe fails to call for some wine, at least one kind. But there is no demand for a special vintage, though many were famous earlier. Date wine is mentioned and light and dark wine.

From the olive came the oil used for cooking, where we use butter. The Liburnian and Licinian olives were famous.

Vinegar was much used.

For nuts they had the edible nuts of the stone pine; almonds from Syria and Palestine; chestnuts, still used to make a meal

for cooking in Italy; hazel nuts, used by the Swiss Lake Dwellers; and filberts, said to have come from the Pontus.

Of other vegetable foods the Romans had many of native origin and also cultivated. These were mushrooms and truffles, beets, carrots, asparagus, turnips, and navews, radishes, parsnips, lettuce, polypody, or oak fern, parsley and rock-parsley, celery, greens, artichokes, cabbages, nettle tops, and mallows.

Imported vegetables were the scarlet runner, mentioned by Theophrastus; chick-peas and other kinds of peas and beans, probably from the Caspian; fenugreek, early cultivated, the fresh plant used as a vegetable, and seed, in seasoning; the leek, cultivated in the time of the Pharaohs; endive, from India or the East Indies; cucumbers, cultivated in North India three thousand years; gourds of many kinds including squash and pumpkin, perhaps from India.

Many herbs were used for flavoring. Probably native were caraway, coriander, Roman fennel, feverfew, laurel, lovage, mint, pennyroyal, catmint, mustard, myrtle, saffron, and safflower (for coloring), thyme and the closely associated wild marjoram, rue, and savory. Imported were anethum, dill or anise, from Egypt and the Levant; Indian Betel, from two different plants — the nut from the palm, and leaf from a vine; cinnamon, for which Apicius uses casia, a bark from China; cerefolium or cloves, now from Malucca; cardamon, probably from Persia; cumin Ethiopic, Syrian, and Lybian; ginger, believed by the Romans to be from Arabia, though probably from the warmer parts of Asia; mastich, from the lentisk; costum or spikenard; terebinth, or turpentine from Chios; wormwood; Gallic Hartwort; assafoetida, or lasar, and silphium, a gum from the root of the *ferula foetida*, spoken of as Cyrenian and Parthian, now produced in Persia and Afghanistan. And last the "folium," the meaning of which is very uncertain. Pepper, white and black, was very liberally used imported from India.

Of cereals they had barley, especially pearl barley; wheat from which flour was made and starch; rice also used for starch, which

was much used in thickening. All of these were known from the earliest times, the wheat and barley as cultivated in Italy, and the rice as imported, probably from India, though known in China from 2800 B. C. Spelt was also known.

Roses and violets were used to flavor wine.

Of minerals fresh water is never named as an ingredient; but implied in boiling, sea water was used, also salt and soda.

Honey was the sole means of sweetening, and leaven is mentioned once.

From this it may be seen that the Romans had gathered from the world around them especially Greece, a varied list of foods, and little was added for centuries. When a Genoese under commission from the Spanish crown set sail for the East by way of the West, it was in his mind to find a shorter way to secure not only the gold and gems of the East, but also the precious spices; and when he landed he had unawares started the world on the way to find not only the gold of the Incas, but many a food material without which Europe would now be much embarrassed, and while we have a Burbank, who can tell what we may not add to the food of the world?

SERVICE BUREAU FOR CLASSICAL TEACHERS

Supported by the American Classical League with the assistance
of Teachers College, New York

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The following summary will to some extent afford information regarding the work of the Bureau to those who have but recently subscribed to the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, and who may not have become acquainted with the movement through other sources.

AIM

To provide a clearing house for the exchange of ideas on the teaching of Latin and Greek in the secondary schools.

ACTIVITIES

1. Conducting a Correspondence Department.
2. Collecting and arranging in a form suitable for inspection and study at the Bureau such information and material as may prove valuable to classical teachers.
3. Sending out material as a loan or for sale at a nominal price, in so far as the resources of the Bureau permit. New items are listed in the *Latin Notes*.
4. Publishing *Latin Notes* eight times a year, a leaflet containing announcements and material of general interest to classical teachers. Subscription 50 cents. Copies for preceding years are available with a few exceptions.
5. Issuing *Supplements* from time to time as material is prepared which is too elaborate in its nature to fall within the space limits of the *Notes*. Numbers I to XVI are now available. Single copies, 10 cents as a rule.
6. Publishing *Bulletins*. Numbers I, II, and III are now ready.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

A list of material for distribution (complete to January 15) is now in printed form under the title "Material Leaflet II." Price 5 cents.

Copies for distribution at meetings, or for circulation through service centers may be obtained free of charge.

II. SPECIFIC DETAILS FOR THOSE WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE WORK OF THE BUREAU

1. *Increased response from teachers*

- (1) The Bureau is now sending out in answer to requests 4019 items of mimeographed and printed material each month (exclusive of *Latin Notes*, Supplements, Bulletins, and "Little Studies in Greek"). The average for the ten months of last year was 1348.¹
- (2) The average number of letters received each month (many of which contain requests for information which cannot be answered by any formal piece of mimeographed or printed material) is 898. The average for the ten months of last year was 523.
- (3) Subscriptions to *Latin Notes* number 2205 as against 1668 at this time last year.

2. *New publications*

- (1) A series of inexpensive booklets called "Rome and the Romans," designed for use of younger pupils. Titles: I, "How the Romans Dressed"; II, "The Roman House"; III, "Roman Baths." Others will follow.
- (2) "Little Studies in Greek for the Latin Teacher" — a series of fourteen lessons appearing bi-monthly, subscription price, \$1.40.

3. *Possibilities for the future*

With increasing financial resources, the Bureau should be able to put considerably more material into printed form and to bring out larger editions of the various items with a view to reducing the cost. Several projects in this connection are under consideration. Meanwhile attention is called to the importance of the 37-page Bulletin II, "A Picture List for the Classical Teacher," and to the 47-page Bulletin III, "A Guide to English Books for the Study of Roman Private Life," by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, as examples of

¹ NOTE. — The figures for the present year are based upon the first four months.

what may be done in preparing material which is of value not only to the secondary teacher but to the college instructor as well. Supplement XIII, "Cicero's Literary Style as a Basis for the Study of English Expression," by Reverend Francis P. Donnelly, also appeals to both classes of persons.

The Service Bureau has been interested in furthering the plan for establishing a classical center in Los Angeles. This will be in charge of Miss Josephine Abel, one of California's most scholarly and successful teachers of secondary Latin. The possibilities for serving the interests of Latin through such local centers, especially in the West, are many. It is hoped that other large cities will follow the example of Los Angeles.

4. *How to help the Bureau*

- (1) Secure subscriptions to *Latin Notes*. Since this leaflet carries announcements of the Bureau (including lists of new material), a wide circulation is of fundamental importance.
- (2) Send in desirable material and urge others to do so.
- (3) Help in giving publicity to any movement of particular significance which obviously cannot be popular enough in its appeal to pay for itself. The publication known as "Little Studies in Greek" affords an example of such an undertaking.

Address: Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, Frances E. Sabin, Director, Teachers' College, New York, N. Y.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

METHODS OF LOCATING BEEHIVES

One of the less arduous duties of the Roman farmer during April was, according to Palladius, 5, 8, the locating of beehives. His methods take advantage of the instinct of the bee to carry its burden home by a *recta via* (a "bee-line").

Palladius says that bees are sought in sunny places, but that, if they come in great numbers to drink at fountains, this indicates that the neighborhood yields much honey. The hunter provides himself with a small quantity of red liquid and seeks fountains or streams. When bees come to drink he stains them with the liquid and then watchfully waits. The distance to their hives can be estimated by noting the time it takes the bees to return. If they come back quickly their hives can be found with ease. When their slowness in returning indicates that the hives are farther away, the hunter lures several of them into a hollow reed in which honey or must has been placed. He then releases them one at a time, following each one as far as possible before freeing another. In this way he finally reaches his goal.

Another method is to put near a fountain a vessel containing honey. As soon as a bee discovers it, others are led to it, until at last there are so many honey-laden bees returning to the hive that their course can be readily followed.

Essentially the same principles that the Roman farmer used in the first method were employed by St. John de Crèvecoeur, a Frenchman who came to America about the middle of the eighteenth century. He thus describes his quest of beehives in *Letters from an American Farmer* ("Everyman's Library," 1912), p. 31:

I carefully examine whether they (the woods) abound with large trees, if so, I make a small fire on some flat stones, in a convenient place; on the fire I put some wax; close by this fire, on another stone, I drop honey in distinct drops, which I surround with small quantities of vermilion, laid on the stone; and

then I retire carefully to watch whether any bees appear. If there are any in that neighborhood, I rest assured that the smell of the burnt wax will unavoidably attract them; they will soon find out the honey, for they are fond of preying on that which is not their own; and in their approach they will necessarily tinge themselves with some particles of vermilion, which will adhere long to their bodies. I next fix my compass, to find out their course, which they keep invariably straight, when they are returning home loaded. By the assistance of my watch, I observe how long those are returning which are marked with vermilion. Thus possessed of the course, and, in some measure, of the distance, which I can easily guess at, I follow the first, and seldom fail of coming to the tree where those republics are lodged. I then mark it; and thus, with patience, I have found out sometimes eleven swarms in a season; and it is inconceivable what a quantity of honey these trees will sometimes afford.

Crèvecoeur calls his bee-hunting a "recreation." Today a sportsman would doubtless prefer to employ the Roman method; a man interested solely in his larder would use the instruments of precision.

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

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VIRGILIAN JESTS

Aeneid 5, 114-123: Virgil's learning was too multifarious and his wit too subtle for grammarian commentators. He amused himself by leaving baits of ambiguity for stodgy schoolmen, and practiced a diction of two depths. Faithfully they have exposed the anachronism of the trireme of Gyas (119), but the sly poet was really hinting at the *threefold* Chimaera, lion, goat, and dragon, earth-born, of course, like the Geganian *gens* of Gyas. We imagine Virgil smiling also when he makes the "Centaur" of Sergestus feminine (122); a female centaur seems contrary to nature, but this was a ship. Both the choice of the name and the rather astonishing mention of Catiline's family may be accounted for on the grounds that the Sergii were famous horsemen, and one of them saved Virgil's own Cremona in a Gallic war (Pliny, *H. N.* 7, 104-106); then at least one member of the Virgilian gens belonged to the Sergian tribe (*C.I.L.* 1, 1099); perhaps the Sergii were patrons of some Transpadane colony. But to return to the humor, Cloanthus, *Χλοανθής* "sprouting green," captains the green "Scylla," the common name of alfalfa (Servius, *Geo.* 1, 205), which sends up a bush of green shoots when cut back. Then Memmius sails the "Pristis," Latin *Pistrix* (*Aen.* 3, 427) "bakeress," and the Memmian gens celebrated the first Cerealia (*Dict. Antiq.*),

and may have had some traditional connection with this plebeian industry. The word *pares* (114) is also puzzling; it happens to mean "two pairs," for Virgil matched the land monster Chimaera with the sea monster Scylla and sent them off side by side (152), and he started off the land horse Centaur with the sea horse Pristis and let them run neck and neck (154-156). In the whole passage is much good-natured wit.

NORMAN W. DEWITT

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TENSE OF THE INFINITIVE IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE

In general, the choice of the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse follows strictly a fixed rule. There are, however, some sporadic and interesting exceptions, which it is the purpose of this note to illustrate.

1

Sallust, *Bell. Cat.*, 17, 7: Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum eius consili *fuisse*.

In this chapter, Sallust gives a list of the notables who gathered to hear the speech in which Catiline put himself forward as a candidate for the consulship. He hesitates to make a direct charge against Crassus, and passes him over with the words: "There were likewise at that time people who believed that Marcus Licinius Crassus was not out of touch with this affair."

In view of *ea tempestate*, it would seem that *esse* rather than *fuisse* might have been expected here. Apparently the writer has allowed himself an exception, choosing the tense of the infinitive with reference to his own present, and not with reference to *crederent*. After Cicero's time, this same sort of thing happens frequently in result clauses, the perfect subjunctive being used freely in sentences where the main verb is secondary.

With the example above, compare also the following case of the use of the perfect infinitive:

Tacitus, *Hist.*, iii, 63, 4: Tanta torpedo invaserat animum ut, si principem eum *fuisse* ceteri non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur.

This passage has to do with the incapacity of the emperor Vitellius: "Such a lethargy had come over his mind, that if others had not

remembered that he was emperor, he would have forgotten the fact himself." From the point of view of the subject of *meminissent*, the perfect infinitive is quite out of place; for Vivtellius was emperor *at the time*. The perfect seems again written from the point of view of the author's present.

2

Catullus, 64, 124 ff.:

Saepe illam perhibent ardenti corde furentem
Clarisonas imo *fudisse* ex pectore voces,
Ac tum praeruptos tristem *conscendere* montes
Unde aciem in pelagi vastos protenderet aestus,
Tum tremuli salis adversas *procurrere* in undas
Mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae,
Atque haec extremis maestam *dirisse* querellis:

Here tradition tells of the plight of Ariadne, deserted on the island of Dia by Theseus. With reference to the governing verb (*perhibent*), all four infinitives refer to the same antecedent time. To explain the tense variation, it is all too easy to assert poetic license or metrical convenience. It is far more likely that the variety serves a conscious purpose.

In direct discourse, vividness is attained at times by interjecting historical presents or historical infinitives among plodding past tenses of the indicative. A similar effect is secured here by introducing, between the perfect infinitives, the two presents set off by *tum . . . tum*.¹

3

Tacitus *Ann.*, xii, 20, 2: Hinc dolor iniuriarum et libido vindictae adigebat; sed disserebatur contra *suscipi* bellum avio itinere, importuoso mari.

¹ If it is justifiable thus to interpret the use of the infinitive in indirect discourse on the basis of special applications of the tenses in direct discourse, some light may thus be shed on the following passage:

Pliny, *Ep.*, vii, 17, 1: Quo magis miror quod scribis fuisse quosdam, qui reprehenderent quod orationes omnino recitarem; nisi vero has solas non putant emendandas.

If Pliny's correspondent used an epistolary imperfect and wrote *erant quidam*, this might be quoted by Pliny as *fuisse quosdam*, though neither of them was thinking strictly of the past. At any rate, Pliny goes on, in direct discourse, to speak further of the attitude of the same critics, using the present indicative (*putant*).

This passage has to do with a quandary of the emperor Claudius, who was in doubt whether to accept a qualified submission on the part of the enemy, or to take the field and crush him. In the end he decided not to make war.

Hence *suscipi bellum* does not mean that advisers of the emperor declared that a war "was being" undertaken, but that the war, if undertaken, *would be* a difficult one, *i.e.* the present infinitive is used, on the principle of anticipation, for the future infinitive. Another clear case is found in Livy, xxii, 61, 3 (*redimi*); and compare also Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 51, 7 (*decimari* and *dimitti*).

H. C. NUTTING

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ON EATING BEAR MEAT

Habinnas (Petronius 66) in his account of the menu at a recent banquet is reminded of the bear's meat which his wife had tasted with such ill effects, but of which he had eaten over a pound with impunity. Waters on the passage quotes Friedländer to the effect that "this is the only passage in Latin literature referring to the eating of bear's meat," exclusive of *ἄρκυα* in a list of various kinds of meat in the glosses. Friedländer seems to be basing his statement on Keller's *Tiere des klass. Altertums*, p. 121. Apparently the passage in Apuleius has been overlooked in which the robbers energetically gorge themselves with bear's meat while preparing a costume for Thrasyleon's masquerade: *Metam.* IV, 14, *nos interdum pulpīs eius (ursae) valenter saginantes*. Not only do the robbers indulge in this fare, but in the same chapter the poor people are described as eagerly making way with the dead bears which lay around the streets, and the robbers themselves get possession of their bearskin because of the custom of eating bear, since no one questions their dragging a bear away *quasi cibo parandam*.

BLANCHE BROTHERTON

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; A. T. Walker, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

Iowa

Iowa City.—For eighteen years it has been customary at the State University of Iowa to appoint a member of the faculty as Annual Research Lecturer to present before the colleges of Iowa the results of his researches in his own special field. The purpose of the lectureship is to stimulate interest in productive scholarship and to encourage Iowa undergraduates to undertake graduate work. For 1925-26 the Research Lecturer is Professor Roy C. Flickinger, the recently appointed head of the Latin and Greek Departments at the State University, who during January, February, and March will visit the fifteen larger colleges of Iowa. His topic is "Problems of the Ancient Theater" and is based upon the studies incorporated in his *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, of which a third edition is shortly to appear, together with observations obtained during a visit to Greece between July, 1923, and August, 1924.

Marion.—The Latin Club of the high school celebrated the Saturnalia on December the eighteenth, the anniversary of the second day of the festival. The program included papers on "The Saturnalia," "Ceremonies of the Second Day of the Festival," "The God Saturn," "The Temple of Saturn in the Roman Forum," and "Food Served at a Roman Banquet." Gifts were exchanged and wax tapers were given as favors, according to the old Roman custom.

Mississippi

University.—The "Little Theatre" at the University of Mississippi was the scene of the presentation in spirited and forceful English of Terence's well-known *Adelphi*. Great credit is due to the director, Dr. A. L. Bondurant, and the members of the Latin Club who assisted him, for the success they achieved in reproducing not only the spirit, but even the atmosphere, of the Roman republic. Stage effects and costumes were carefully studied. As the play proceeded the contrast between the two brothers, the carefree Micio and the benedict Demea was very effectively portrayed. All of the *histriones* vividly entered into and lived again their respective parts. The humor of the play, fully sensed by the actors, touched a responsive chord in the audience.

The management is to be commended for its thoughtfulness in providing each one who attended not only with a program giving the cast of characters but with an illuminating introduction to the play and a summary of the several acts. Added interest was given to the occasion by reason of the fact that we were celebrating the anniversary of the birthday of our good friend, Horace the bard.

Whatever the outlay in time and effort, it is well worth while for those who are interested in the classics to reproduce the past as the Latin Club of the University of Mississippi has done.

Wisconsin

Milwaukee.—The Wisconsin Latin Teachers Association met in Milwaukee on November the fifth. The following papers were read: "The Teaching of Cicero," by Miss Theresa Kleinheinz, of the Oshkosh High School; "Latin Composition in the Third and Fourth Years," by Professor G. C. Fiske, of the University of Wisconsin; and "The Personality and Influence of Cicero," by Professor W. A. Oldfather, of the University of Illinois.

The officers elected for next year are: President, Leta M. Wilson, Madison, Central High School; Vice-President, Carolyn Holah, Kenosha High School; Secretary-Treasurer, Mary Davis, Milwaukee, West Division High School.

We reprint the summary of Professor Oldfather's paper from the report of this meeting given in the *Latin Bulletin* of the University of Wisconsin:

"Cicero is one of those men whose true biography seems to begin rather than to end with the date of his actual death. For despite

the fact that he lived and took a large part in the most crowded, violent, and dramatic half-century of human history, his personal fortunes are, after all, inconsiderable in comparison with the gigantic range and scale of his intellectual and literary influence.

"The common knowledge among all Europeans of rhetoric, oratory, mental and moral philosophy was for centuries derived more extensively from Cicero than from any other source whatsoever, and when the richer treasures of the Greek genius were finally disclosed and utilized, they served essentially to reinforce, or extend the structure which was already in its design and outline familiar from the works of Cicero. He was in fact the most influential of all the world's teachers through the written word, the greatest popularizer, in the good sense, of the arts of thinking, of speaking, and of writing. The prose style of the Western world is essentially modeled either directly upon his own productions, or indirectly upon the works of those who have tried to follow in his footsteps.

"Although his statesmanship was at times equivocal, and his conduct occasionally open to the charge of weakness or vacillation, he was a man of honor, of prodigious energy and capacity for taking pains, of genius in expression, of amazing versatility and broad sympathies, and perhaps the most perfect exemplification of the ancient ideal of humanistic culture."

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. It is the aim of this department to furnish teachers of high-school Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send to the editor of the department short paragraphs dealing with matters of content, teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. Questions regarding teaching problems are also invited. Replies to these will be published in this department if they seem to be of general interest; otherwise they will, so far as possible, be answered by mail. It will, in general, be the policy of this department to publish all such contributions as seem of value and general interest.]

De Senectute — A Limerick

Cicero and Horace might both have enjoyed this limerick, from the pen of Professor G. A. Simmons of Hendrix College.

CARPE VIAM

(A Horatian Adjuration)

You have been at Life's party a guest,
You have had of her bounty the best;

Iam satis ludisti,

Edisti, bibisti,

Nunc tempus abire tibi est.

Latin Enigmas

Mr. Alexander Shewan of St. Andrews, Scotland, sends the following enigma and its solution. He states that the *Aenigma* is taken from the *Vox Urbis*, a paper which was published in Latin at Rome, while the *Solutio* is taken from the *Glasgow Herald*.

AENIGMA

Pars prior interdum velis ornatur et auro,
Altera pars prisco tempore nummus erat.
Uno juncta simul verbo pars utraque gentem
Rapto viventem belligeramque notat.

SOLUTIO

Ara Dei "interdum velis ornatur et auro,"
Bes Romae "prisco tempore nummus erat."
Uno verbo *Arabes* consueto nomine "gentem
Rapto viventem belligeramque notat."

English Derivatives from Latin — Nouns

The following suggestions for the teaching of English derivatives come from Miss Lydia Whitaker, Wiley High School, Terre Haute, Indiana, and have been successfully employed for three years with as many classes of pupils who lacked the ability or the qualifications to read Caesar. It will be found an effective approach to the study of English derivatives with any first- or second-year class.

It is best to begin the teaching of English derivatives with the nouns. These may well be divided into groups and classified:

I. English nouns ending in -or.

- a. Those which come from Latin with no change of spelling: senator, humor, ardor, honor.
- b. Those which come from Latin, but with some change: *auctor* — author, *debitor* — debtor, *praeceptor* — preceptor.
- c. Those which do not come from Latin, as: neighbor, harbor.

II. Latin nouns of first declension, which have English derivatives.

- a. Those which come into English unchanged: *Asia*, *camera*, *inertia*.
- b. Those which drop *a* or *ia*: *Musica* — music, *forma* — form, *discordia* — discord.
- c. Those which change *a* to *e*: *causa* — cause, *tuba* — tube, *rosa* — rose.
- d. Those which change *ia* to *y*: *victoria* — victory, *familia* — family, *centuria* — century.
- e. Those which change *tia* to *ce*: *gratia* — grace, *scientia* — science, *avaritia* — avarice.

III. Latin nouns ending in -io, gentive -ionis, which have English derivatives ending in -ion: *natio* — nation, *legio* — legion, *actio* — action.

Group I was chosen because it furnishes a large number of derivatives, and is a good group to treat by taking the English first, thus beginning with the known, as the pupils will know many more English words ending with -or than Latin. Elicit from the pupils in the first recitation a list of such English words. They will gradually grow enthusiastic over this, delighted to find that they can do what is asked. Let each one copy this list. Then for the first assignment ask the pupils to increase this list by any means they may devise.

On the next day these lists should be compared and unified by having each pupil put on the board his list through a certain portion of the alphabet. Lead them to add words which they have omitted. They will have discovered that many of these words name occupations, and by thinking along that line they are likely to omit such words as: arbor, ardor, candor, clamor, clangor, color, donor, error, factor, favor, fervor, flavor, furor, honor, horror, humor, labor, manor, motor, odor, pallor, rumor, savor, tenor, terror, torpor, tumor, valor, vapor, vigor.

If the pupil's list with the additions made by the teacher has reached 130 or

more words (the full list is of course decidedly more than this, but some words seldom used in English may be omitted), work may be assigned with an English dictionary for the pronunciation or the meaning of any words the pupils do not know. From this time on accept no word as belonging in any pupil's list if that pupil does not know the meaning of it.

Next assign the classification of words in this list as indicated above. More than half the list will be found to belong in Class *a*, more than half the remainder in Class *b*. Much use must be made of the Latin dictionary for this purpose, at first only under the direction of the teacher.

In the second group of nouns, begin with the Latin, because the pupils will know many more of these Latin nouns than any other group. Again work with the class at first, letting them give all the first declension Latin nouns they can think of. Have this list increased by use of a vocabulary, rather than a dictionary, to 100 words, dividing the assignment alphabetically. Then give the pupils classes *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e* under which to classify these nouns. Let them discover that a few have no English derivatives, and a few have English derivatives not falling in one of these five classes. Commend them for this discovery.

The third point under nouns may be taken up as the first, through the English words. Because of the length of this list (250 or more words) it is suggested that the number found be reported, and a sample list of 25 written in the notebooks. Also, the *tio*-nouns are so closely related to verbs that it may seem desirable to postpone them until the verbs have been taken. If time permits, other noun-groups may be added, as, Latin ending *-tas*, English, *-ty*: *libertas* — liberty, *facultas* — faculty, *universitas* — university, *auctoritas* — authority.

Grammar and Syntax

Question. — "In the passage from Caesar, *B.G.*, III, 9, 26, '*. . . naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum esse bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt*,' can it be said that *ubi* modifies grammatically *constabat*, or must it be said that it modifies grammatically *gesturum*?"

Ubi is in this sentence a conjunctive (relative) adverb with locative force (cf. Allen & Greenough's *New Latin Grammar*, 20, *g*, note and 308, *i*), and its Latin equivalent is *in quo loco*. In its locative force it is grammatically connected with *gesturum*, but in its relative force it connects with *constabat* or rather with the whole clause of which *constabat* is the main verb. The only near parallel to this in Caesar's use of *ubi* is in *B.G.* I, 13, 9. The relative pronoun is used in a similar relation to *constabat* and to the verb which is governed by *constabat* in *B.G.* III, 6, 6; III, 26, 15; VII, 47, 19. For *in quo loco* and equivalent expressions in a similar use, see *B.G.* VI, 30, 4; IV, 7, 2; *B.C.* III, 37, 20.

Book Reviews

The Book of the Ancient Greeks. An Introduction to the History and Civilization of Greece from the Coming of the Greeks to the Conquest of Corinth by Rome in 146 B.C. By DOROTHY MILLS. 16 Illustrations and a Map. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925. Pp. xvi + 420. \$2.50.

In these degenerate days, when the few American students who apply themselves to the Greek language during their college courses begin their studies with a profound ignorance of things Hellenic, the publication of a book of this kind may well be welcomed. One is inclined to surmise that a generation or more ago its reception would have been a cold one.

The volume is to be recommended as one that may safely be introduced to the pupil as a decent and reasonably trustworthy "Companion to Greek Studies." The work edited by Whibley, which bears this title, is, for all its excellence and fine scholarship, adapted to the needs of those only who have had the blessing of a thorough early training in the classics, or who possess an unusual flair for Greek antiquities. *The Book of the Ancient Greeks* offers a sketch of Hellenic history from pre-Homeric days down to the Roman conquest; it has chapters also on such topics as: religion and oracles, the Olympic games, private life at Athens, education, the theatre, art and literature.

For the sake of producing the best effects, the author has resorted to the somewhat rare method of incorporating in the text large excerpts, in translation, from the ancient writers themselves. The chief merit of this system is that the student is thus — perforce, as it were — confronted with a fair number of the original sources of our knowledge regarding antiquities, and is at the same time furnished gratuitously with a miniature course of "Greek Literature in English" — something which is demanded by the more thoughtful of the Philistines of the present day.

The scheme of such a work appears, in all points, to be a good and desirable one. But to accomplish with complete success the task

undertaken by its author is, naturally enough, an exploit of extreme difficulty. He must be equipped with an unusual breadth of knowledge, and must possess a most discriminating judgment and sense of proportion. Few indeed are the scholars on whom nature has lavished these gifts, and doubtless Miss Mills would be very ready to grant that, from the very nature of the circumstances, sins both of omission and of commission must needs manifest themselves here and there on the pages of her *Book*. The reader may wonder, *e.g.* why the outline of Greek literature occupies but fifteen pages, while, under the caption of "The Theatre," full thirty pages are taken up with a translation from Murray's *Iphigenia in Tauris*. It may be difficult to understand, too, why Pheidias and Praxiteles are mentioned alone among the sculptors — and their names occur repeatedly. Fault may also be found with the list of books suggested by the author for more advanced reading. Why is Grote, and not Bury, recommended in the field of history? And why is not Flickinger, instead of the now antiquated Haigh, mentioned as an authority on the Greek theatre? Or, similarly, why should Mahaffy be preferred to Ferguson as an expounder of Greek imperialistic doctrines? Miss Richter's *Craft of Athenian Pottery* is, one is inclined to think, much too technical a work to be included in a list of general treatises.

A few further defects may be noted. It would appear that the author has accepted too literally some of Homer's poetic portraits of the Achaean warrior (p. 31). Her reference to Greece, in one place (p. 81), as having been "a free state" is particularly unfortunate, inasmuch as *The Book* is intended for immature students, who are likely to accept such a statement at its face value. The chapter dealing with the theatre is decidedly the weakest of all. The assertion (p. 234) that theatrical performances were held once only in the year in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens is erroneous, and several serious anachronisms occur on page 235. A misstatement of fact is also discernible on page 286, where we read that Lord Elgin "made arrangements by which the British Government was allowed to buy the Parthenon Sculptures." There appears also to be some confusion in the author's mind concerning the chronology of ancient ceramic wares. In the chart which accompanies the volume, "Greek Black-figured" and "Greek Red-figured" vases are placed in the sixth-century pigeon-hole, while "Athenian Vases" appear in the fifth. Surely "Red-figured" and "Athenian" here mean the same

thing — for which the fifth-century date is of course the proper one. It may also be pointed out that to refer to the Ludovisi Throne as the Aphrodite Throne (p. 413) is very unsafe, particularly at the present moment, when recent studies have caused many to incline to the opinion that Aphrodite has no part or lot in the matter.

These are perhaps the most noticeable shortcomings, but there are happily many compensations. The book, while written in a very simple style, is by no means unreadable. Both the narrative and descriptive sections are thoroughly entertaining, and ought to prove palatable enough for the general reader as well as for the student. The illustrations are excellent, and the text seems entirely free from printers' errors.

A. D. FRASER

ALFRED UNIVERSITY

Mediaeval Latin. Selected and edited by KARL POMEROY HARRINGTON. Allyn and Bacon, 1925. Pp. xxix + 698. \$2.75.

The lack of a work of this sort has long been felt — particularly in America since the revival of interest in mediaeval studies. Hitherto the inaccessibility of many documents of the Middle Ages, except to the chosen few, has proved no small hindrance to the popularization of mediaeval lore.

Both Professor Harrington and his publishers, Messrs. Allyn and Bacon, are to be warmly congratulated on the excellence of the volume which they have put before the public. The book is a model of neatness, good taste, and utility, and its seventy-six illustrations, while of necessity small sized, have been judiciously chosen and finely reproduced. The type is clear and attractive to the eye, and a remarkable feature is the compression of more than 350 leaves, which are considerably stouter than India paper, into a thickness not above an inch.

The outstanding merit of the work lies in the extraordinary breadth and inclusiveness of the method of selection employed by Professor Harrington. He has groped most industriously in every nook and cranny of the dusty storehouse of the Dark Ages, and has brought to light treasures of divers forms and appearances. Portions of no fewer than eighty-seven authors or literary collections are placed before one's eyes, so that the most exacting mediaevalist can hardly bewail "notable omissions" — although it is true that, for some reason, the Vulgate edition of Scripture does not appear. The depart-

ments of literature that are represented include: epic, lyric, satiric, dramatic, and sacred poetry; history; travel; anecdote; the fable; the miracle; the novel and short story; the epistle; the dialogue; oratory and philosophy.

In running his eye over a work of this sort, the layman is impressed with the relatively small gap that seems to separate the diction of the classical authors and the best of the mediaeval writers. Naturally, here and there the "base monkish jargon" manifests itself, and there is not wanting the occurrence of such sesquipedalian and barbarous words as *choralittis*, *catezizans*, *elemosinatricem* and *pentasphragitim*. Monstrosities of this variety are to be seen most frequently, perhaps, in the selections from John the Monk, Notker the Stammerer, and the composers of the "History of the Seven Sages." At the opposite stylistic pole are writers like the scholarly Roger Bacon and Rosvitha, the learned nun of Gandersheim. The Latinity of the latter, based as it is on the Terentian model, is remarkably pure, though artificial.

It is perhaps not easy to understand why Professor Harrington has chosen to include in a mediaeval florilegium — and that too without apology — a series of excerpts from a score of Renaissance and even later writers, from Petrarch to Milton. One could wish, indeed, that the space occupied by pages 552-698 had been taken up with a somewhat full commentary on the preceding paragraphs rather than with the Ciceronian, Virgilian, and Ovidian imitations which are there to be found. And the disappointing features of the work as a whole lie in the extreme brevity of the Introduction, which fills less than nine pages, and the too laconic nature of the notes. These latter, though conveniently placed at the foot of each page, have been made — as one used to read in the prefaces of English public-school Latin texts — "as few, as short, and as simple as possible." Unfortunately, their very character forbids that they should be of any great service to the mature scholar, while they do not contain sufficient information, one feels, to assist materially the ordinary student. Had Professor Harrington employed, in this respect, a method similar to that which he used with felicitous results in his *Roman Elegiac Poets* (American Book Co., 1914), little would be left which the heart might desire.

But we cannot expect everything to come in a day, and mediaeval studies in America are only beginning to make themselves felt in the

world of scholarship. All who are interested in this field must needs feel deeply grateful to the author of *Mediaeval Latin* for making available, at a very reasonable price and in such an attractive form, *res tamdiu caligine mersas*.

A. D. FRASER

ALFRED UNIVERSITY

The Relation of Dogmatism and Scepticism in the Philosophical Treatises of Cicero. By MARGARET YOUNG HENRY. Columbia dissertation. Pp. vii + 117.

The ability to think straight, to handle with a sense of proportion large masses of difficult material, to present with convincing lucidity a point of view obscured by the casual statements of such great personages as Drumann and Mommsen, — this surely entitles one to the degree of doctor of philosophy, and to the title of true humanist. And this is Miss Henry's achievement in her dissertation on *The Relation of Dogmatism and Scepticism in the Philosophical Treatises of Cicero*. Her book may safely be recommended to any one who wishes a brief and interesting introduction to the currents of philosophic thought in the days of Cicero. Her contention, and one that she ably sustains, is that Cicero in his seven treatises has a consistent, affirmative point of view, giving unswerving allegiance to the *verisimile*, where the *verum* is unattainable. She further makes it appear that William James (probably without knowing it) was a member of the New Academy of Antiochus, and a spiritual brother of Cicero. If it is one of the functions of classical scholarship to "awake the dead," and to hear and "broadcast" the message which they impart, Miss Henry has proved her right to be a torch-bearer in the great λαμπαδηδρομία.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

GRINNELL COLLEGE

"The Library of Greek Thought." Edited by Ernest Barker. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1924.

Greek Historical Thought from Homer to the Age of Heraclius. Introduction and Translation by ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Pp. xxxiv + 256. \$2.00.

Greek Civilisation and Character: The Self-Revelation of ancient Greek Society. Introduction and Translation by ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Pp. xx + 236. \$2.00.

A person who has been fortunate enough to have learned the alphabet in his youth has no excuse any more for not being superficially acquainted with almost everything. The manuals, libraries, guides, outlines, introductions, and other forms of predigested materials are simply inescapable.

How salutary this may be is another question. After all, a superficial acquaintance with facts is not very important, except, indeed, for personal entertainment. On the other hand the expert's thorough knowledge and mastery of fact and theory and the technique of research is the most important value on the intellectual side of our whole civilization. If this *vulgarisation* of science, as the French call it, goes much farther we shall come into serious danger of losing the sense of difference between the two kinds of knowledge; namely, that of credulity and say-so, and that of more or less objectively ascertainable reality.

One wonders occasionally if we have not reached a period of relative fatigue in the onward drive of inquiry, and are not entering into an era when the ordinary man reads the criticism or the compendium instead of the book itself; when the ordinary student expects the teacher to extract for him the quintessence of every subject, so that with the minimum of effort on his own part, and no false starts or "superfluous" information, — which really means, without even the possibility of wholesome critique and honest scepticism — he may know "just how it really is;" when few care to take the pains to *know* a subject, but many wish to know *about* it. Such a period of gradually narrowing intellectual horizons and the eclipsing of sceptical inquiry by faith in hearsay, as in the Great Decadence, the classical scholar is only too painfully aware of; for his researches perforce carry him through terrible wastes of the *compendiosa doctrina* type. The last of these that I have happened to have in my hands, the *Liber Memorialis* of Ampelius, from early in the second century after Christ, will do as well as any for illustration. It covers just thirty-one small pages and its first sentence will suffice:

Lucius Ampelius to his good friend Macrinus, greeting:

Since you
have expressed the desire to know everything (*omnia nosse*), I have

written you this handbook, that you may learn what the universe is, the elements, the products of the earth, and the achievements of the human race.

"Know everything" in 31 pages, forsooth! No man can achieve another's own culture and intellectual discipline for him any more than he can sleep for him or digest his food for him. Information acquired without effort or thought is about as likely to build intellectual fiber and sinew as food looked at instead of eaten may be expected to still the pangs of hunger.

In general, of the two books before us it may be said that in the choice of the selections they are not hackneyed, and that there is a certain air of largeness and energy about them. Here and there the departures from convention fairly shock one who is familiar with the subject-matter into a kind of new realization of meaning. I believe, however, that they will be much more useful to those already partially trained in the classics, than to the mere outsider. The former will appreciate them, as I have already suggested, for an occasional ray of oblique light, but for the latter the conventional material and attitude, which is after all the essential and abiding worth of Greek thought, would be quite as novel, and far more valuable. For it would be a serious fault to give total strangers a bad perspective of Greek culture as a whole, and how anyone can rise from reading most of the prefaces of the later Greek historians, with much respect left for Greek achievement in this field is beyond my powers of imagination. Familiar as I was with most of that material, I confess the concentration of it into one section quite staggered me. In short, there seems to me to be too much of Theophylactus Simocatta, Marcus the Deacon, Priscus of Panium, and "queer cattle" of that kind (to say nothing of the almost incredible absurdities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his comparison of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Theopompus), writers and incidents from a period which surely deserves no longer to be called Hellenistic, not even "Greek" in any but the most conventional use of that term, but belongs to that type of civilization which Oswald Spengler and Eduard Meyer have recently with much vividness described and characterized for us as the age of "Arabic" or "Magic Culture," which set in during the first century before Christ, a new orientation of the intellect, a new social and spiritual order, in which "Diocletian was the first Khalif," as Spengler wittily observes.

There is some inclusion also of purely Roman material, and in general not quite sufficient attention to the principle set forth in the announcement of the series; namely, that it was to include "the most typical and the most important expressions of Greek Thought." The fact is that the selector and translator is obviously very much of a modernist, and naturally inclines to the later and the latest in other directions no less. It is amusing to hear of one Greek addressing another with the words "Good morning!" while "smart clothes," "hair neatly bobbed" and "nippiness" of style are certainly locutions sufficiently vivacious. Considerable liberties are taken with the original in order to prevent it from appearing strange to the average reader, although the majority of those who actually do read these books will no doubt be markedly affected by many strangenesses, especially in the three selections from the New Testament. There are irritating mannerisms like "transactions" (in an obsolete sense of the word), "determined" for "ended," "speechify," "muniments," "presentment," "seized of the fact," "imbecility" (in an obsolete sense), "riverain," "*Genus Homo*;" and one boggles a little at "saints" for "heroes," and at "journalism" for "rhetoric" in Procopius, I, 1, 4, and for "encomium" in Agathias (ed. Dindorf. II, 126, 20). Other modernisms like the use of "vilayet of Aidin" to explain "province of Asia," "Qyzyl Yрмаq" for "Halys," "pashaliks" for "satrapies," "Iranis" and "Iraquis" for "Parthians" and "Babylonians," add little or nothing to general intelligibility, while "five minas of baker's bread, two minas of meat, and four ladles of wine" surely need some explanation in present-day equivalents, and it is of little practical use to be told in explanation of the phrase "twelve select acres" merely that "the Egyptian acre is one hundred Egyptian cubits square, the Egyptian cubit coinciding in length with the Samian," even though these are the very words of Herodotus.

Another somewhat unpleasant feature of style is the excessively large number of foreign expressions, often without any substantial gain, and frequently to the point of annoyance. Thus "intelligentzia," "confrère," "type croyant," "par excellence," "tour de force," "note verbale," "piazza" (for *agora*, or market), "enceinte," "coup d'état," "entente," "démarche," "nuncii," "force majeure," "dénouement," "finale," and the like, are scattered far too thickly over the pages. Combined with the nervous style they make for a kind of piquancy that often approaches affectation.

The scholarship is on the whole sound, although there never were any "Southern Locrians," the sacred tree at Dodona was not a "beech," and the quarries at Syracuse were certainly no "narrow shaft." The occasional lapses one feels to be due not so much to ignorance as to a kind of wilfulness and personal caprice, a fault which the author shares with a few of his countrymen who are, or have been, active in this field.

One excellent innovation for translators is to place in footnotes the kind of supplementary remark which would inevitably be disposed of in that fashion in a modern work. It is frequently a marked help to lucidity of statement. Also with the author's dictum relative to the obligations incumbent upon the latest translator of any classical work, I find it a pleasure to agree, and shall quote it here in the hope of doing my part toward establishing a sensible tradition:

"It would be a mistaken homage to originality to do again badly what one feels to have been done better already. Obviously the right course in such cases is to plagiarise with acknowledgments." (I, p. xxix).

W. A. OLDFATHER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Orations of Cicero with a Selection from his Letters. Edited with introduction, grammatical outline, notes, vocabulary, exercises in composition by FRANK GARDNER MOORE. Boston: Ginn and Company. 1925. Pp. xcv + 661.

Another edition of Cicero and a different edition! Perhaps the most significant feature of this edition is its emphasis on a systematic mode of attack in translating. In order to encourage the pupil to follow the Latin order and to expect help only when he has reached some pause in the sense, the notes are so arranged that the last word of the phrase or clause serves as the catchword for the note. One may question as to how far this device will have the desired effect of discouraging the pupil from looking ahead for help. In any case, it is likely to be of some value by drawing attention to a desirable procedure. Occasionally, when the last word in the group has no connection with the comment required, some awkwardness results, *e.g.* "*demens: subito* is of course the adv." and "*socios: note the abstract meaning of scelus.*"

Another feature of the book is the large amount of attention given to rhetoric. In this, however, the emphasis is laid on those practical

phases of rhetoric that assist the pupil to grasp the meaning of the passage as well as to gain some appreciation of the author's style. In the Introduction under the titles, "The Public Speaker" and "The Orator's Mastery of Form," the editor connects Roman oratory with that of today and describes in some detail the rhetorical features found in Cicero's orations. In the Notes, also, there are frequent references to such matters as the emphasis of word-order, and the high relief of contrast.

Besides the usual introduction, text, notes, and vocabulary, this edition contains a grammatical outline and exercises in writing Latin, thus providing in one book all the material needed for the work of the third year. The text includes the four orations against Catiline, the Manilian Law, Archias, Marcellus, and the Fourth Verrine, chaps. 1-3, 14, 24, 27-30, 43, 48-60. Thirty selected letters with generous notes at the foot of the page are added for sight reading. The grammatical outline is not a mere condensation to meet the reference needs of Cicero, but is a systematic treatment of the subject from a fresh point of view. Wherever it is possible, the author emphasizes group-relations in place of centering the attention on the individual word, in the thought that a quick recognition of word-groups is indispensable to translation. Case syntax, for instance, is treated under the heading "Word Groups Containing Cases" with genitive word-groups, ablative word-groups, etc. In the exercises in writing Latin an ample amount of well-selected material is provided for work in Latin composition, both oral and written. Here, as elsewhere, the editor has been guided in his selection and arrangement of material by the New York State Syllabus.

NEW BEDFORD HIGH SCHOOL, MASS.

RALPH H. TUKEY

Greek Social Life. By F. A. WRIGHT, M.A. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1925. Pp. xvi + 246.

This is one of the volumes of the "Library of Greek Thought," edited by Ernest Barker, principal of King's College, University of London. It is a source book for Athenian life and its title is to that degree misleading, for little or no attempt has been made to depict the social life of any other Greek community in the Periclean period. A twelve-page introduction apologizes for this title and summarizes the chief characteristics of Athenian life, no attempt being made to touch upon any other than Athenians at any period.

The selections are all in translation. The shield of Achilles and the story of Nausicaa are used to illustrate the Homeric age. Some twenty-five pages are then devoted to early Greece and Ionia, the selections being drawn from Hesiod, the gnomic poets and Simonides of Amorgos, (whose "Characters of Women" it is a delight to find at last made so easily accessible), and Herodotus. Then the bulk of the volume, some 180 pages in two divisions, the former division entirely from Aristophanes and Xenophon, is devoted to Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries. The latter of the two divisions is entitled "The Attic Orators." This is a valuable feature of the book, as it renders accessible such documents as the oration of Lysias on the killing of Eratosthenes. Why the thirty Athenian types (the *Characters* of Theophrastus) should be included under this title, it is not easy to see, glad as we may be to find them in the collection. To the Alexandrian age and the Roman period about thirty pages are devoted. Of these two the former contains the *Fifteenth Idyll* of Theocritus, arranged in three scenes, two mimes of Herodas, and from the papyri the famous letter of Theon Theonis. In this last instance half a page of elucidation would have been of great service. As it stands, it is something short of intelligible. The omission of any rendering of the ἀγάγια descriptive of the abortive peace offering, sent by the elder Theon, makes the passage very obscure. The last section consists of selections from the Εὐβοϊκός of Dion Chrysostom.

JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius. By W. B. SEDGWICK. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. Pp. 146. \$1.50.

For several years there has been evident a tendency in the colleges to turn from the better-known Latin authors into the by-ways of the field—to offer courses in medieval Latin and in vulgar Latin. Courses in the Roman Novel have become popular. One of the most interesting of these secondary authors is Petronius. He is not only interesting but he repays well all time spent in an effort to understand him. Any editor, therefore, who makes his work more accessible to students deserves our gratitude. This Mr. Sedgwick has done. His brief Introduction covers the *Satyricon*, the *Satura*, the relation of the *Satyricon* to the novel, and the Latinity of *Cena*. The text of the

Cena is followed by the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca. Both texts are expurgated. This seemed necessary to the author because he intends the book for use in the sixth form of English schools. Twenty-six inscriptions from Pompeii are added and an abbreviated translation of the story of the Ephesian Matron from Petronius 111, 112. There are five well-chosen illustrations.

The notes as well as the Introduction are reduced to a minimum. There are two pages of notes for the entire *Apocolocyntosis*. This often leads to dogmatic statements that the author would gladly qualify if more space were at his disposal. References to modern parallels are, however, not excluded. The author is reminded by the shrivelled Sibyl of Rider Haggard's *She*. All unusual words in the *Cena* are explained in the notes. In fact it is just the type of edition welcomed by the student-in-a-hurry. Only one sometimes longs (the wish must usually be expressed in the imperfect subjunctive) for the student who is not in a hurry.

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The Size of the Slave Population at Athens During the Fifth and Fourth Centuries before Christ. By Miss RACHEL LOUISA SARGENT. Diss., University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Sept., 1924, Vol. XII, No. 3. \$1.75.

The author has undertaken a reëxamination of the entire problem of the number of slaves in Attica during the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. Her expressed purpose is to depend less upon the meager and ambiguous statistical data, and to avoid the "guesses" and "reasoning in a circle" of those who base their estimates upon a "hypothetical grain supply and consumption." Instead, she would draw from a study of the literary evidence and from an analysis of the changing economic and social conditions more well-founded conclusions as to the number of slaves owned by the several classes in the different fields of labor in each period.

After a critical review of the results of previous investigation of the problem, the author discusses in a series of chapters, on the basis of the literary evidence, the number of domestic, agricultural, industrial, and state slaves, and the number of slave children about 431 B.C., and at the beginning and middle of the fourth century. Two sets of conclusions are presented based respectively upon the

liberal estimate of the size of the free population by Meyer and the conservative estimate by Beloch, as follows: 91,000-103,000 and 66,900-78,500. Accepting about 100,000 slaves for 431 B.C. as expressing the more general consensus of opinion of scholars today, Miss Sargent's figures are evidently quite conservative, since this is her maximum estimate, even on the basis of the extreme figures of Meyer for free population. Her estimate of the number of domestic and agricultural slaves is probably too low. She has also failed to take into account the probably considerable number of slaves at the docks, engaged in general drudgery in the city, and also those employed on merchantmen. Her estimate of the slave population at the close of the fifth century as only one-third that of 431 B.C. is also probably unduly conservative. The evidence hardly warrants her estimate of only one domestic slave apiece for 20,000 middle class citizens in 431 B.C. (p. 64). It is also by no means so "evident" (p. 70), that "no large staff would be needed on the average wealthy farm of sixty to forty acres in Attica, in view of the lack of machinery and the cheapness of labor. The generalization from slight data, Isaeus VIII, 35 (pp. 53 f.), is too sweeping. On the other hand, the important passage from Demosthenes, LIX, 42, is unduly belittled. The specific meaning of *μυγλὼν*, Xen., *Mem.*, III, 6, 14 (p. 63 f.), is overemphasized, in view of the common use of the word indefinitely of a very large number. It is also a very questionable method of estimating the number of industrial slaves owned by the wealthier classes (p. 102), to take the average of twelve incidentally named in the literature, for five of whom no slaves are given, and for two others only three or four.

The author is extreme in her criticism of the "guesses" of past investigators. The question of grain supply and consumption in Attica is, after all, a very important phase of social and economic life that should be considered, as a check upon the other methods of approach to the problem of population. Indeed, Miss Sargent has by no means avoided the "guesses" or even the dependence upon statistical data herself, for all her figures as to slave population are based directly upon the estimates of previous scholars as to the free population, and these in turn depend largely upon statistical evidence and data as to probable grain supply and consumption. Interesting examples of guess-work may be found on pages 63-65.

It should be noted also that the author's approach to the problem

through a study of the literary evidence is by no means as new as one might infer from her statement on page 11. Most of the data from the authors used by Miss Sargent have been presented before by Cicotti, Giraud, and others. There is really little that is new in the dissertation either in data, results, or even in method, aside from some difference in emphasis.

We are, however, indebted to the author for a critical reëxamination of the entire problem, and for presenting in convenient form a summary of the ancient data and of the results of modern investigation to date. She has also rendered a service in effectively repudiating once more the old popular fallacy of an Athenian civilization based entirely upon slave labor. The general conclusions of the dissertation, that the number of slaves varied greatly with changes in social and economic conditions and the size of the free population, that slaves were purchased chiefly for investment and profit rather than for luxury, and that a considerable proportion of the free population of Athens engaged in diverse kinds of manual labor for a livelihood, are doubtless in a large measure correct. On the whole, also, the author shows balanced judgment, careful scholarship, and fairness in interpretation.

The work seems to be reasonably free from mechanical errors such as Phalareus (p. 13), Müllendorf (p. 131), and the omission of the number for note 3 (p. 44). The English is, on the whole, satisfactory, with the exception of a marked example of involved sentence structure on page 11.

The dissertation has an excellent select bibliography and a serviceable index.

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